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## Reagan Takes the Offensive Goes to the Public to Make Case on Arms, Spending

By Hedrick Smith  
New York Times Service  
WASHINGTON — Last Christmas, President Ronald Reagan was feeling beleaguered by Democrats who were riding high after their November election victory. His programs were under attack, and he told aides he felt there was "nobody out there" making his case.

"I want to get out there and tell my side of the story," he declared.

His speech on arms control in Los Angeles Thursday culminated an extraordinary personal effort over the past three weeks that stemmed from his frustration in December.

Mr. Reagan has taken the political offensive on such issues as military spending and arms control, where his policies have been under fire. He has pushed the controversy over the Environmental Protection Agency out of the limelight.

The White House acknowledges that there has been a deliberate barrage through the news media.

Mr. Reagan has been as active as a candidate on the stump, adding to speculation that he plans to run for re-election.

He has gone on prime-time television promoting a futuristic missile defense plan; he has delivered a five-minute Christmas message.

NEWS ANALYSIS

speech to delight his rightist supporters; he has gone before Atlantic Alliance ambassadors to set out a new negotiating position; he has fired salvoes at a Democratic budget that he said gave comfort to the Kremlin; he has charmed the Washington political community with self-deprecating humor at a big dinner; he has experimented with more relaxed news formats to get his message across.

His moods have swung from evangelical combableness in early March at Orlando, Florida, where

he denounced the Soviet Union as "an evil empire," to reasoned reassurance Thursday in Los Angeles, where he proclaimed his dedication to "preventing a holocaust."

Some analysts believe that the early months of his third year in office are a critical time for defining Mr. Reagan's presidency, especially if he should decide to seek re-election. According to aides, his focus lately has been on reviving support for large increases in military spending, resisting pressures for a nuclear weapons freeze, and prodding the Soviet Union toward arms concessions with little flexibility of his own.

The year began with bipartisan compromises on Social Security and a modest job measure. But on military spending, Mr. Reagan has decided to make a stand and go around Congress to the public.

Now, his commitment to a major U.S. arms buildup and his mis-

## 200 Held In a Protest At U.K. Base

United Press International  
LONDON — Tens of thousands of antinuclear campaigners pressed ahead Friday with an Easter peace offensive in Britain. West Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland, including marches, vigils, blockades and a 14-mile (23-kilometer) human chain. A total of 500,000 people were expected to take part in the weekend protests.

By Friday evening, about 200 arrests and two injuries were reported in England, although the demonstrations were largely peaceful.

The arrests were made at Greenham Common, 60 miles (96 kilometers) west of London, where the Women's Movement for Peace and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament protested the testing of cruise and Trident missiles in Britain.

Many of those arrested scaled the fence of the U.S. air base where the first of 96 cruise missiles are to be placed in December. Most of the protesters were later released without charges, the police said.

Pending official figures, organizers said that 70,000 to 100,000 people linked hands along a 14-mile route taking in Greenham Common; the Aldermaston nuclear weapons research establishment, which develops Trident warheads; and the Burghfield Royal Ordnance factory, which assembles nuclear warheads.

Britain has an arsenal of about 900 nuclear bombs and approximately 64 submarine-launched Polaris missiles.

The protest ended with a mass rally at Aldermaston. A mass "die-in" was scheduled Saturday in Glasgow.

In West Germany, where the main protests are still to come, 15,000 demonstrators turned out Friday. Organizers predicted that the overall "armistice" at about 90 events would exceed last year's 500,000. As many as 100,000 people protested Friday in Britain.

At Neu-Ulm in southern Germany, the police used tear gas to disperse about 250 demonstrators blocking the entrance to the U.S. Wiley base, pinpointed by the peace movement as a proposed site for Pershing-2 missiles.

The police said two persons were arrested and a peace movement spokesman said two demonstrators were injured.

Protests included a blockade of a U.S. ammunition depot at Feuchtwangen near Nuremberg and of a West German base that houses some American troops in Kellinghusen, and two marches — 50 miles from Marburg to Frankfurt and 46 miles from Bamberg to Nuremberg.

In Switzerland, 1,000 to 3,000 people demonstrated outside a nuclear power station near Basel.

The Dutch were staging dozens of mostly symbolic demonstrations against nuclear weapons, but the high point — a torchlight parade scheduled Saturday — was being staged as a protest against nuclear power generating.

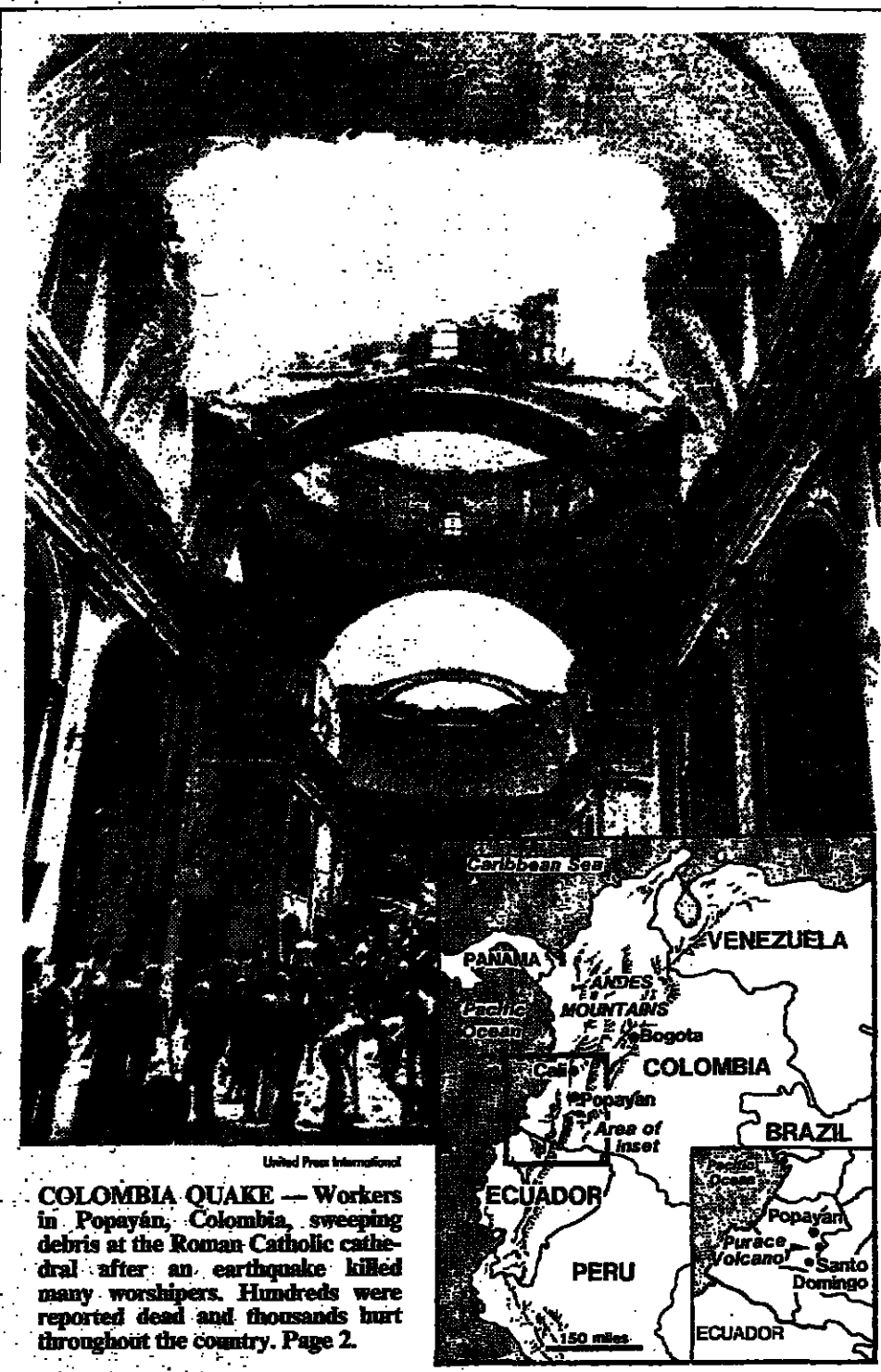
Government officials in Britain and Germany said the demonstrators were playing into the hands of the Soviet Union but support was offered by some left-oriented parties and organizations.

Defense Minister Michael Heseltine of Britain called the protesters a "naïve" minority group but said they were free to express their opinions.

"That freedom is your right and I am charged with its defense," he said. "But I don't believe for one moment that we will risk that freedom by following you along a naive and reckless road."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said the protesters would have been better advised to "link hands around the Berlin Wall."

Karl-Dieter Spranger, parliamentary secretary of state at the Interior Ministry in Bonn, said the demonstrators "supported the threatening policies of the Soviets toward our freedom and security."



COLOMBIA QUAKE — Workers in Popayan, Colombia, sweeping debris at the Roman Catholic cathedral after an earthquake killed many worshippers. Hundreds were reported dead and thousands hurt throughout the country. Page 2.

## Citing Lebanon, Reagan Refuses F-16s to Israel

By Bernard Gwertzman  
New York Times Service  
WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has stated that until Israel withdraws its forces from Lebanon he will not permit the transfer of about 75 F-16 fighters that have been held up since last summer.

"We are forbidden by law to release those planes," Mr. Reagan said Thursday. He implied, but did not state explicitly, that Israel had violated the terms of an arms supply agreement with the United States stating that American military equipment can be used only for defensive purposes. Under the Arms Export Act, the president has discretionary authority to cut off military sales to any nation found in substantial violation of such an agreement.

Israel expressed sharp displeasure Friday, United Press International reported from Tel Aviv. A senior Israeli official described Mr. Reagan's reasons for refusing the planes as "annoying" and "surprising." He said that Israel's campaign in Lebanon was a war of "self-defense par excellence and had nothing to do with conquest."

Another official called the statement very serious in light of the increase in Soviet involvement in Syria. A source quoted by Israel Radio Friday said there now would be little purpose in a meeting between Mr. Reagan and Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Sources quoted by the radio Thursday said only a Reagan-Begin meeting could break the impasse on removing troops from Lebanon.

The president's remarks were in response to questions after a televised speech in Los Angeles that was devoted to arms control. In the speech he offered his most extensive critique to date of the proposal in Congress for a nuclear freeze resolution.

Mr. Reagan appealed to supporters of the measure to put aside "partisan politics" and unite behind his administration's arms control proposals to the Soviet Union.

The president's comments on Israel caught the State Department by surprise, since for eight months the administration has refrained from saying Israel had violated the agreement by its invasion of Lebanon. In addition, officials have declined to give a reason for delaying the release of the F-16s to Israel.

Some concern was expressed that Israel might react strongly to Mr. Reagan's comments and prove more recalcitrant in the negotiations now going on over its withdrawal from Lebanon.

He said the effort to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian Liberation Organization forces from Lebanon had been "a frustrating experience." Until this is achieved, he said, it is impossible to proceed "with the general subject of overall peace."

Philip C. Habib, Mr. Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East, was on his way back to the United States Thursday after another round of inconclusive talks. And Yasser Arafat, the head of the PLO, arrived in Amman for talks with King Hussein of Jordan that are supposed to be crucial to whether the king goes along with Mr. Reagan's call for expanding the Middle East peace negotiations. Some officials have said that King Hussein will not agree to enter the talks until Israel agrees to terms for pulling out of Lebanon.

After Israel bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor in the summer of

## Progress Is Seen on Withdrawal

By David K. Shipler  
JERUSALEM — Israel and Lebanon were reported Friday to have narrowed their differences over how much Israeli military involvement is to be permitted in southern Lebanon after a troop withdrawal.

Officials close to the negotiations said that Lebanese representatives, during a session Thursday in the Israeli town of Kiryat Shmona, had agreed on the principle of establishing joint supervision teams under an Israeli-Lebanese military committee.

Israel radio interpreted this to mean Lebanese acquiescence to an Israeli demand for joint patrols in the area, but one official called that (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Antinuclear protesters, some wearing costumes, used ladders to scale the fence of Greenham Common air base, England, on Friday. Police detained about 200 people.

## U.S. Arms Plan Seeks Bilateral Reductions

By Joseph H. Hertz  
International Herald Tribune  
PARIS — U.S. proposals for cutting the superpower's strategic nuclear arsenals require both nations, not just the Soviet Union, to make significant reductions and adjustments in their arsenals, Reagan administration officials said Friday.

In rare disclosures of detailed U.S. thinking on the seldom discussed strategic arms limitation talks in Geneva, U.S. officials said the Reagan administration's blueprint for a lower, more stable nuclear balance required the Soviet Union to scrap about two-thirds of its ballistic missiles to reach a ceiling of 850 while the United States would have to destroy at least 45 percent of its own intercontinental rockets.

Although strategic arms limitation talks have been overshadowed by the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on Europe-based nuclear missiles, also in Geneva, U.S. officials appear anxious to dispel suggestions that the Reagan administration and its chief negotiator at the strategic arms talks, Edward L. Rowny, are setting "unrealistic" or one-sided goals in the talks about the superpower balance.

"According to the sources, the U.S. proposal now includes provisions for constraining cruise missiles being deployed on U.S. ships and aircraft independently of NATO plans to place such weapons in Western Europe."

"It is a satisfactory formula, we think," one source said, but he refused to disclose details of the U.S. suggestion or any Soviet reaction. The U.S. and Soviet delegations have agreed to respect confidentiality about the talks.

The final details of the initial U.S. and Soviet positions were laid out Thursday at the end of the third two-month bargaining session in the talks, which began last October.

"The U.S. position is complete, like a treaty except for the absence of legalistic language and except for some blanks to be filled in," an official said.

Apparently frustrated by the lack of Soviet responsiveness to U.S. suggestions and annoyed by Soviet commentators' complaints about the thrust of the U.S. proposals, U.S. officials said the Reagan administration approach offered both sides more stable defenses at lower levels of armaments.

Soviet commentators have criti-

## Pravda Critical Of Reagan's Plan On Missile Parity

MOSCOW — President Ronald Reagan's new arms control initiative was condemned Friday by the Soviet daily Pravda, indicating that the Kremlin will reject it as a basis for an East-West missile agreement.

A commentary in the Communist Party newspaper dismissed Mr. Reagan's offer for a parity agreement on medium-range missiles as propaganda and said it offered no substantial change from his zero official plan, already rejected by the Soviet Union.

The paper said Moscow could not accept the deployment of any new U.S. missiles in Europe, which the Reagan plan would involve, because that would tip the strategic balance in favor of the United States.

Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko is expected to deliver the Kremlin's official verdict on the plan at a rare press conference Saturday. The commentary indicates that he is likely to reject it as a basis for a missile accord.

Mr. Reagan's proposals, made public Wednesday, called for the Soviet Union and Washington to agree to parity in the number of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missile warheads. The plan would mean the Soviet Union would have to cut a large number of its SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missile forces, while the United States would be able to deploy some cruise and Pershing-2 rockets in Western Europe.

## Pentagon Aims to Overtake Japan In Race to Build 'Supercomputers'

By Michael Schrage  
Washington Post Service  
WASHINGTON — The Defense Department is planning a major research project to create a new generation of "supercomputers," hoping to overtake Japan in a race to establish supremacy in computer technology in the 1990s.

Department officials said Thursday that the project, called "Strategic Computing and Survivability," but nicknamed the "Supercomputer," is designed to compete with Japanese government and industry efforts to create a "fifth generation" computer. Other officials said the underlying purpose is to secure U.S. dominance over the Soviet Union in military technology.

The new supercomputers would process information at rates thousands of times faster than existing machines and would be imbued with "artificial intelligence" software that would give them problem-solving capabilities far beyond today's computer systems.

"This is in response to the Japanese," said a high-ranking official of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, or DARPA, which will administer the project. DARPA is tentatively seeking \$50 million for fiscal 1984 and congressional hearings on the proposal are scheduled for later this month.

"The Defense Department should press this technology because no one else is pursuing it," said Richard D. DeLauer, the undersecretary of defense for research and engineering. "The Japanese have strong programs in both artificial intelligence and fifth generation computers."

"I don't think \$50 million is enough," said Anthony Battista, a senior staff member on the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. Battista contended that the question of superiority in computer technology is "a problem that goes far beyond the Defense Department. It trends directly into our whole economic base."

The program was "just started up this year," said a DARPA official. While several top computer experts are being consulted, the agency has yet to determine whether it will emphasize hardware or software development. "We are trying to resolve those issues right now," said another DARPA staffer.

It is expected that the Defense Department's supercomputer efforts would focus on new kinds of computer designs using very complex, multilayered computer chips as well as "expert systems" programming that allow computers to analyze problems in much the same way that human experts do. One effort is expected to focus on using computer programs to design future computer chips.

All of these new technologies — and the way they can be integrated into total computer systems — have direct military applications.

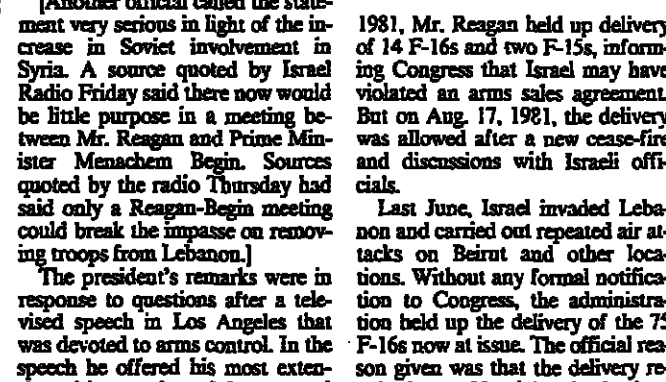
"This is an enabling technology that would make advanced ballistic missile systems possible," said Robert Cooper, DARPA's director and assistant secretary of defense for science and technology. He was referring to President Ronald Reagan's recent proposal to develop missile defenses.

Japan's project is sponsored by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry which is investing \$450 million over the next 10 years.

Japan expects to replace the United States as the world's leader in computers, said Edward Feigenbaum, chairman of Stanford's computer science department. "Even partially realized concepts that are superbly engineered can have great economic value, pre-empt the marketplace and give the Japanese the dominant position they seek," he maintained.

There are, however, industry observers who do not believe that the Japanese can wrest dominance away from the United States with a project that has yet to produce any tangible results.

However, Bobby Inman, president of Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corp., said, "The real problem is that we'll ultimately be competing for the same talent."



## Nigeria Paper, Officials Clash on Secrets Law

By Leon Dash  
Washington Post Service  
LAGOS — Nigeria's press, which enjoys a freedom that is rare in black Africa, has recently come under strong government attack in the aftermath of unauthorized publication, by one relatively independent newspaper, of sensitive government reports.

The same newspaper has also published embarrassing official correspondence and been willing to confront the police with sharp, biting criticism.

That there is even a public dispute in Nigeria is noteworthy. In virtually all of black Africa, the issue of what the media can publish or broadcast outside government controls does not arise because such freedom does not exist.

The upcoming court battles here will be watched closely because they could end up defining the limits of press freedom in Nigeria, a freedom enshrined in the country's 1979 constitution.

In the current controversy, two editors argue that they are being harassed by the police to turn them away from the constitutional provision stating that the duty of the press is "to uphold the accountability of government."

Nigerian police officials say the issue is not that lofty and that, at least in the major part of the conflict, the issue involves simple obedience to the law as laid out in the 1962 Official Secrets Act.

Under the act, Dele Giwa, editor of the Sunday Concord, was arrested and jailed for 14 days. The charges against him were dropped and then reinstated; he has been rearrested four times.

Mr. Giwa, 35, a New York Times news assistant for four and a half years before returning to Nigeria in 1978, incurred official wrath by publishing a government report on the arson of a public building to hide embezzlement. Mr. Giwa published the findings before the report was officially released and followed it up with revealing correspondence between government officials.

Such journalism is unsettling and new to Nigerian officialdom.

Ray Ekpu, 35, also works at the Concord and was recently charged with murder, arson and conspiracy because of a satirical column he wrote. The column suggested that some government officials under investigation for embezzlement were stupid for not following the Nigerian practice of burning down their headquarters to destroy all of the accounting records.

The next day, two persons died in a fire in the building Mr. Ekpu mentioned, the 37-story office of Nigerian external telecommunications.

He was arrested a week later. A judge dismissed the case, but not before Mr. Ekpu spent 16 days in jail.

"The government believes we're dangerous," said Mr. Giwa, "and, therefore, subterfuges are used to hold us in the hope that we will be cowed into silence."

Mr. Giwa said that although the arson report "was not damning to the government, it was the first time someone published a report" without official approval "and the government wants to intimidate the press from continuing such action; they're afraid of investigative journalism."

Most of Nigeria's approximately 25 newspapers, which generally back one of the country's six political parties or are controlled by the government, were silent on the arrests of Mr. Giwa and Mr. Ekpu, but a second independent paper, The Guardian, said in an editorial Feb. 27:

"When the police arrest a journalist, bring him to court on wild charges, and the charges are thrown out and they proceed to rearrest him on other equally wild charges, what is again thrown out of court, that is police harassment."

But Nigeria's federal police chief, Inspector General Sunday Adewusi, denied the assertion.

"It is a firm belief of the silent majority that the land shall be built on law and not lawlessness laid to waste," Mr. Adewusi said in response to a question on how Mr. Giwa had broken the secrets act. "Is stealing government documents investigative journalism? Publication of such documents is not in the interest of the security of the country."

The first letters Mr. Giwa printed involved an angry exchange between Mr. Adewusi and Attorney General Richard Akinjide over Mr. Akinjide's dropping of the charge against Mr. Giwa — later reinstated — as unwelcome in court.

The second set of letters involved a complaint by the federal budget director to the head of the cabinet office that he was approving too many expensive overseas trips by federal officials. Mr. Giwa faces charges of two further secrets act violations on the stories.

Mr. Giwa, who is free on bail, has filed an \$800,000 lawsuit against Mr. Adewusi for unlawful detention.

## INSIDE

■ The Sandinist government has charged that U.S.-backed forces have made new thrusts across the Honduran border and warned that "a broader conflict" with Honduras could result. Page 3.

■ Kenneth Kamula, the president of Zambia, said that the West must press for changes in South Africa's apartheid policy or risk a bloody explosion in the area. Page 3.

■ President Reagan met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin in the Oval Office last month in an effort to reassure him about American sincerity toward negotiations with Moscow. Page 3.

ARTS/LEISURE

■ Ben Vauthier, the French artist whose work is a mixture of Dada and vaudeville, shows in Paris. Page 7.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ Cez de France says it would attempt to renegotiate its gas contract with the Soviet Union should the comparable price of oil fall further in the coming year. Page 5.



# On Falklands Anniversary, the Blame Is Still Undecided Carrington Viewed As Loss to Politics

By Peter Osnos  
Washington Post Service

LONDON — "What happened in the Falklands has been a great national humiliation," Lord Carrington observed grimly last April 2 on the evening he resigned as Britain's foreign secretary.

He had to go, he said months later, to stem the British public's fury in those early April days over Argentina's invasion of the distant colony.

"The governor of a British territory had been forcibly removed, an alien flag had been raised over an occupied population," Lord Carrington told an attentive House of Lords.

The wide sense of outrage and impotence was understandable and I was at the head of the Foreign Office. It did not seem to me a time for self-justification and certainly not to cling to office.

"I think that the country is more important than myself." Events in the invasion aftermath have enabled the sixth Baron Carrington to voice such magnanimous sentiments. Britain regained the Falklands in June. In January an official inquiry concluded that Lord Carrington could not reasonably be blamed for the Argentine action. Victory and vindication combined to permit restoration of Lord Carrington's reputation as one of Britain's best foreign secretaries in this century.

Now, as the country marks the anniversary of the crisis, it is generally acknowledged that any minutes for Britain in the Falklands affair — the loss of lives, the high cost of maintaining a substantial garrison, the strain on relations with Latin America — must also include the departure of Lord Carrington from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

A senior Western diplomat said: "What vanished from the cabinet was an outward looking mind that had a sense of Britain's destiny in the 1980s. The approach in foreign policy has become more 'little England,' more chauvinistic, less imaginative. Lord Carrington had the gift of wit, elegance and style, combined with intuitive intellectual strength."

Simon Jenkins, political editor of *The Economist*, wrote: "An urbane, decisive man, Lord Carrington proved adept as departmental head and as tutor to the prime minister. By early 1982 he had bludgeoned her into recognizing that the Foreign Office was

at least a necessary evil of British government. He had come, as a reluctant adviser, to the same view about her."

Lord Carrington achieved a solid record of accomplishments in his three years in office. He presided over the conference that led to the transformation of Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, a goal that had eluded Britain for more than a decade. He was instrumental in shaping the European Community's innovative position in favor of Palestinian self-determination and made a determined effort to wheedle the Russians out of Afghanistan.

That Lord Carrington and the two deputy ministers who resigned with him did not fully foresee the dangers in Argentina's insistent claim to the Falklands is a responsibility they shared with British governments for a generation.

Yet Lord Carrington acknowledges that in significant respects he was an anachronism, which probably contributed to his downfall. As a hereditary peer, an aristocrat, he was outside the relative rough-and-tumble of British electoral politics. Not being a real threat to Mrs. Thatcher for the party leadership, he had the greater leeway for working with her that was instrumental to his success.

But without a voice of his own in the House of Commons, he could not do so in the invasion took place. Lord Carrington now tells visitors that he was almost certainly the last member of the Lords to serve in so sensitive a post as foreign minister.

Lord Carrington is said to have been profoundly shaken by the savagery of attacks on him in the heated weekend that followed Argentina's invasion April 2. In an otherwise restrained House of Lords speech earlier this year, he said that "the press was baying for blood."

Politicians, even in his own party, pounced on him in their indignation. During 30 years of public service, Lord Carrington had not been subjected to that sort of abuse.

He was deeply downcast in the weeks that followed his resignation, friends recall, spending most of his time at the family's 300-year-old manor house in Buckinghamshire. He refused to discuss the Falklands in public and resigned from the Carlton Club, one of the venerable meeting grounds for the Conservative establishment.



British forces raised the Union Jack and the White Ensign after they recaptured South Georgia, a Falklands dependency, after a battle in April 1982.

Gradually his spirits improved and he accepted the position of chairman of the General Electric Company, one of Britain's largest businesses. He also joined Kissinger Associates, the consultancy organized by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. At 63, he seems to have plunged headlong into another blue-chip career. While there is apparently no question of his returning to the government, Mrs. Thatcher is known to call upon him for advice.

Lord Carrington's cachet has not been transferable to his successor as foreign secretary, Francis Pym. Mr. Pym is widely regarded as a serious-minded and capable administrator, but his relations with Mrs. Thatcher have been uneasy. He is identified with a more moderate wing of the party on domestic economic and social policy and considered a possible prime minister, should Mrs. Thatcher falter. Moreover, her instinctive suspicion that the Foreign Office is not inclined to be tough enough in representing British interests is said to have resurfaced.

Mrs. Thatcher is unyielding in her resolve that no negotiations with Argentina about the Falklands are possible. Lord Carrington does not speak openly about his own views, but while endorsing Mrs. Thatcher's position in his Lords speech he managed also to lament its necessity and seemed to be warning against the dangers of excessive nationalism.

The Falklands was bad, he said, "because we have got ourselves, through no fault of our own, into the position which successive governments have sought to avoid. We are committed... to spending large sums of money and to accepting a distortion of our defense policy."

This commitment, he went on, should not lead Britain to "retreat into our island home believing that we can, as a result of the Falklands, ignore the rest of the world. We should not be tempted into believing that we in this country are not part of Europe and the Western world with an obligation and a duty in settling the many problems on the international scene."

"There is much to do and our aim should be to continue to resolve differences by genuine negotiation," he added.

# Buenos Aires Awaits Commission's Report

By Douglas Grant Mince

The Associated Press  
BUENOS AIRES — Leopoldo Galtieri, the former Argentine president and army commander who launched the ill-fated invasion of the British-administered Falkland Islands last April 2, is now in civilian clothes, in retirement and in disgrace.

Since being dismissed from both the presidency and the army command following Britain's military victory over Argentina last June, Mr. Galtieri, a retired general, has been a virtual recluse in his 19th-floor suburban apartment.

And the country's 28 million inhabitants are still waiting for a report from an armed forces commission investigating "political and strategic responsibility" for the conflict that cost 1,000 lives and billions of dollars.

Some are awaiting the report more anxiously than others. The young former conscripts at the Malvinas Veteran Center are impatient and skeptical. Las Malvinas is the Argentine name for the Falklands.

"We're waiting for the report, because when it comes out we're going to study it point by point and say 'This is what's true and this is a lie,'" said Miguel Angel Trinidad, 20, the group's secretary, who spent 10 weeks in the trenches.

"The report is going to come out all twisted. How can you expect them, the same ones who managed the war so poorly, to give a truthful report?" he said during an interview in the center's headquarters.

The military bureaucracy has not completely prevented the Falklands war story from being told. The prisoners of war returned by Britain in the weeks after the fighting described cowardice, corruption and logistical incompetence among much of the Argentine officer corps.

Jorge Luis Borges, 83, the venerable Argentine author, put it this way: "The Malvinas war demonstrated that Argentine military men are much more dangerous to their compatriots than they are to an enemy in the field."

He alluded to the regime's mid-1970s campaign against leftist guerrillas that resulted in the "disappearances" of 6,000 to 15,000 people. Local and international human rights organizations claim many of the missing had nothing to do with the revolutionaries but were summarily executed on suspicion of subversion.

The administration that succeeded General Galtieri has refused to formally declare a cessation of hostilities in the South Atlantic and misses no opportunity to declare the "recovery" of the islands one of the country's highest priorities.

But the nationalist fervor that swept hundreds of thousands of people to the central Plaza de Mayo a year ago to chant General Galtieri's name and celebrate the seizing of the islands is absent.

Argentina claims Britain stole the islands 250 miles (400 kilometers) off the southern Argentine coast in 1833, when Royal Navy forces ousted Argentine authorities.

The Falklands debate left the seven-year-old government in such disrepute that the generals, who before the war had indicated that they planned to hold power until at least the end of the decade, were forced to begin a transition to civilian rule.

President Reynaldo Bignone has promised elections, the first in 10 years, for Oct. 30. The transfer of power to elected authorities is set for Jan. 30 next year.

Unemployment is at a 10-year high of 12 percent and inflation at 300 percent a year. Political campaigning and the recession command much more space in the newspapers than the war and its consequences.

Nicanor Costa Mendez, the foreign minister during the war, who presented the Argentine case in world forums, is campaigning for a conservative federalist party and is considered as a possible presidential candidate.

He, General Galtieri and the former military governor of the islands, General Mario Benjamin Menéndez, have appeared in recent days before the investigative commission. Others who played a major role in the war are to testify in coming weeks.

The war drastically altered Argentine foreign policy. Before the conflict, the staunchly anti-communist regime was strengthening ties with the United States and emphasizing the country's "Western and Christian" identity. When Washington and Western Europe sided with Britain in the conflict, Argentina found moral and diplomatic support from Third World and Soviet-bloc countries. The government is now firmly entrenched in the same nonaligned movement it was considering abandoning in the months before the war.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Thais Say Vietnamese Repelled

BANGKOK (AP) — The Foreign Ministry said about 500 Vietnamese troops drove about a mile into Thailand twice Friday but were driven back across the border into Cambodia both times.

No independent confirmation was available. Reporters are barred from the battle area and the announcement was greeted with some skepticism by observers. The ministry said the first invasion occurred near the refugee camp of Nong Samet and the second one near Phnom Chai, where Vietnamese forces overran a Khmer Rouge base Thursday. It said 200 Cambodian refugees were killed by the Vietnamese, but there was no confirmation of the figure.

That officers in the area said Thai gunners traded artillery fire with Vietnamese forces across the border in Cambodia Friday, and that Khmer Rouge guerrillas regrouped and launched harassment raids against the Vietnamese. The Thais also helped move about 15,000 Cambodian civilians from the region to a UN refugee camp near Thab Siam, three miles (4.8 kilometers) southeast of Phnom Chai, a Khmer Rouge stronghold overrun by the Vietnamese Thursday in heavy fighting that officials said left at least 32 Cambodians dead and 150 wounded.

### France Can't Locate Dioxin Waste

PARIS (AP) — The 41 drums of dioxin that French officials have been trying to locate for months "could be in France or in any other country," Hugues Bonchard, the French environment minister said Friday.

"We don't know where they are," she concluded in an interview with Radio Monte-Carlo, explaining that a document that she had earlier described as indicating the location of the drums was not conclusive.

The 41 drums containing 2.2 tons of dioxin-bearing debris from the dioxin-contaminated town of Seveso, Italy, entered France in September 1982 and initially were taken to a depot in the northern French city of Saint-Quentin. But French environmental officials have not yet been able to learn when the drums left Saint-Quentin or where they went, although some evidence suggests they were taken to West Germany.

### Italian Left Acts to Improve Ties

ROME (Reuters) — Clear signs emerged Friday of an improvement in the tense relations between Italy's Communist and Socialist parties.

The parties, in a joint statement to rebuff charges of corruption in leftist city administrations, spoke of "a tendency toward improvement in our parties' ties." It was made public following a meeting Thursday between leaders of the parties and suggested a degree of understanding not apparent for several years.

The statement said recent judicial actions could not fail to provoke "strong doubts about political impartiality" — an apparent allusion to suspected attempts by Christian Democrats to discredit leftist city councils before local elections. Both leftist parties said they intended to extend their cooperation in local government, where the left runs several major cities in sometimes uneasy alliance. The development appeared certain to irritate the dominant Christian Democrats, with whom the Socialists are partners in a four-party national coalition.

### Soviet Aide Asked to Leave Spain

MADRID (Reuters) — A Soviet diplomat has been asked to leave Madrid after Spanish authorities discovered that he was engaged in activities they described as incompatible with his status, Foreign Ministry sources said Friday.

No official comment was available on press reports that the Spanish and Soviet authorities had arranged the departure to avoid reciprocal action by the Kremlin and that three more diplomats were involved. Since 1977, 11 Russians have left the country after being accused of espionage.

### For the Record

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Ronald Reagan has nominated Admiral William N. Small as commander in chief of U.S. naval forces in Europe and commander in chief of allied forces in Southern Europe, the Pentagon announced Friday.

BEIJING (UPI) — Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger paid a surprise visit Friday to Beijing to meet with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and other officials, the official Xinhua press agency announced.

## U.S. Arms Plan Seeks Bilateral Reductions

(Continued from Page 1)

Pravda report. Conversely, the United States, which relies on nuclear submarines, including the Trident under construction, would gain under the main clause requiring that each side keep half its strategic warheads on submarines.

Expanding on the original U.S. position that only land-based missiles have the power to mount a disabling first strike on an enemy's missile force, U.S. officials added Friday that the emphasis on submarines could easily be accommodated by the Soviet Union's submarine-building program, which is already producing the giant Typhoon-class nuclear submarines.

The U.S. proposal does not require the Soviet Union to develop or deploy new types of weapons systems that it does not want, but merely accommodates current programs upon which the U.S.S.R. embarked before the United States had ever presented its program, an official said.

Under the U.S. proposal for a ceiling of 5,000 warheads (half at sea) and 850 ballistic missiles, the Soviet Union could have, for example, 200 multistaged ICBMs, 300 single-warhead ICBMs, 14 Delta-class submarines and six Typhoon-class submarines, all with hundreds of warheads, the U.S. official said.

This force, like its U.S. counterpart, would have the retaliatory capacity to absorb a first strike and annihilate the other superpower's population centers. But it would lack the capability, which the Soviet Union approaches today, of launching two heavy land-launched warheads for each of the roughly 2,000 targets comprising the U.S. missile silos and command posts.

In contrast to the U.S. proposal, the Soviet Union has called for an across-the-board cutback by 25 percent in the number of launching silos and a freeze on new nuclear systems.

"It has a good propaganda ring" a U.S. official said.

While acknowledging the appeal of the word "freeze" in the United States and Western Europe, U.S. officials maintain that it would lock the United States into an inferior, exposed position. "The United States is deploying air-launched cruise missiles, which would be banned in a freeze, to penetrate the improving Soviet air defenses," a U.S. official said.

While U.S. officials contend their proposals seek to move the existing arms race toward stability and then reduce numbers, they accuse Soviet strategists of clinging to the SALT-2 formula of counting "launchers" — that is, missile silos — instead of numbers of missiles and power of warheads.

The issue caused Mr. Rowny, who helped negotiate SALT-2, to resign from those talks when he suspected Soviet planners would

May 11  
Latin

Investigates

Reagan's...  
Balance on...

Black...  
Back...

# Israel-Lebanon Talks Are Said to Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

"over-optimistic" and cautioned that obstacles remained to a complete agreement.

President Ronald Reagan announced Thursday that Israel's request to purchase F-16 warplanes would not be granted until Israeli troops were out of Lebanon. Administration officials have expressed annoyance in recent weeks over Israel's rejection of a U.S. package of security proposals for southern Lebanon. These are said to fall short of Israeli demands for a residual military presence on Lebanese soil.

(In Beirut, the Lebanese state radio said that Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and Foreign Minister Elias Suleman, after meeting Friday with Lebanon's negotiators, "found that the tripartite negotiations have returned to their objective course." The Associated Press reported.

"If we look at the draft agreement that has been negotiated from a general standpoint, we find that most of the issues have been resolved and that the remaining points of contention became fewer," the radio said. The negotiating teams of the United States, Israel and Lebanon will meet four times a week starting next Tuesday instead of twice a week, in an effort to speed up the talks, the radio added.

Israel, convinced that the Palestine Liberation Organization will try to reestablish military positions in southern Lebanon, originally asked for five outposts on Lebanese territory, staffed by a total of about 750 Israeli soldiers and intelligence agents, coordinating with local Lebanese militias in maintaining security.

Neither Lebanon nor the United States accepted this, arguing that it would give Syria a pretext for leaving its forces in northern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley.

Israel is currently reported to have stopped insisting on the outposts, without formally withdrawing the demand. Instead, the Israeli negotiators are said to be concentrating on daily patrols with Lebanese troops, close communications and intelligence links with a southern brigade of the Lebanese Army and the stationing of Israeli Army advisers with Lebanese troops.

In addition, Israel wants Major Saad Haddad, a former Lebanese Army officer, named as the commander of the southern Lebanese brigade. Since the mid-1970s, when he left the army, Major Haddad has run an Israeli-trained and supplied militia in a narrow buffer strip on the Lebanese side of the Israeli border, giving Israeli troops free access to the territory for artillery positions and as a launching pad for strikes against PLO emplacements.



PATH OF DESTRUCTION — Lava pouring from Sicily's Mount Etna begins to flow into a restaurant on the volcano's slopes. The volcano, the most active in Europe, has been spewing lava since Monday. Many structures on the mountain have been destroyed.

# Reagan Takes the Offensive on Arms

(Continued from Page 1)

tence on a rollback of Soviet missile forces as the price of any arms agreement are becoming hallmarks of his presidency as much as the 1981 tax and budget cuts.

The latest public relations offensive reflects the rhythm of the presidency: a low public profile in the long period of budget formulation.

## A Soviet Prosecutor Is Sentenced to Death

MOSCOW — A prosecutor in Soviet Kirghizia has been sentenced to death for taking bribes from criminals, the weekly newspaper Nedelya reported Friday from the Siberian region's capital of Frunze.

The report said that the prosecutor, Urushbek Koichumanov, sought and received bribes from three high-ranking officials at a meat factory who were "plundering" the state-owned enterprise. No date was given for the trial, but press accounts of death sentences are usually published after the execution.

# Quake Kills Up to 500 In Colombia

BOGOTA — Five hundred people may have been killed and as many as 2,000 injured Thursday in an earthquake that devastated the city of Popayán, the president of Colombia's Civil Defense said.

The official, Carlos Martínez Saez, provided the estimates after visiting the ruins of the city of 138,000 people, 230 miles (370 kilometers) southwest of Bogotá.

Many people attending Mass in the local Roman Catholic cathedral were killed when the quake struck and masonry fell.

Other churches in Popayán, which is renowned for its colonial-style architecture, were also crowded with worshippers.

A Red Cross spokesman gave a lower casualty estimate than the Civil Defense chief, saying there could be more than 400 dead and 1,200 injured.

Families wandered through the shattered streets as the authorities struggled to provide shelter for the estimated 15,000 people left homeless. Officials began restoring water and electricity supplies Friday.

The services had been totally disrupted by the quake, which registered an intensity of 7 on the 12-degree Mercalli scale used to measure the intensity of an earthquake as felt in a specific location.

Reports from the region said 90 percent of Cagibío, a nearby town of 15,000 people, had been flattened by the tremor. Officials said no casualty figures were yet available for neighboring areas.

Health Minister Jorge García Gómez ordered a vaccination campaign to prevent epidemics as rescuers began digging mass graves to bury the dead.

President Belisario Betancur placed Popayán under military control Thursday to prevent looting, and supermarkets and drug stores were kept open around the clock.

Medicine, food and first-aid equipment were being flown in from Bogotá and Cali.

# Mubarak Visits China

BEIJING — President Hosni Mubarak, the first Egyptian head of state to visit China, arrived here Friday. Mr. Mubarak was met by a delegation headed by Public Health Minister Cui Yueli.

Mr. Mubarak's visit is part of a series of high-level exchanges between Egypt and China, which began in 1956 when the two countries established diplomatic relations.

During his stay in China, Mr. Mubarak will meet with Chinese leaders and officials, and will also visit the Great Wall of China and the Summer Palace in Beijing.

Mr. Mubarak's visit is the first by an Egyptian president to China since 1956, when the two countries established diplomatic relations.

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## Congress May Tighten Curbs On CIA's Latin Operations

By Philip Taubman

WASHINGTON — Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, the vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, says that Congress may have to tighten restrictions on U.S. intelligence activities in Central America to prevent involvement in efforts to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

"A growing number of my colleagues question whether the CIA is complying with the law," the New York Democrat said in an interview. Last December, Congress approved an amendment to the fiscal year 1983 that prohibits U.S. support for "any military effort to topple the Nicaraguan government."

"There is a crisis of confidence building between the committee and the intelligence community over this issue," Mr. Moynihan said.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which is responsible for the covert operations, has maintained to Congress that its support for paramilitary groups in Central America is for limited purposes, including the interdiction of arms to guerrillas in El Salvador, and does not involve an effort to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

"They say it complies with the law," Mr. Moynihan said. "Committee members are saying we're not so sure. We may have to rewrite the law to make more explicit what our intentions are. I don't think intelligence officials

have taken the measure of our concern here."

Mr. Moynihan's comments are the strongest indication to date of mounting concern in Congress about U.S. intelligence operations in Central America, particularly those focused on Nicaragua. It reflects, as well, a general uneasiness among members of both parties in Congress about the Reagan administration's overall policy for the region.

Three members of the House who returned Thursday from a visit to Central America called for directly tying U.S. economic and military assistance to El Salvador to progress in reaching a negotiated settlement of the conflict there.

The three members, Representative James L. Oberstar, Democrat of Minnesota, Bill Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico, and James M. Jeffords, a Vermont Republican, called for unconditional negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the guerrillas. "At some point, if progress is not made, the money will be cut off," Mr. Oberstar said at a press conference.

When Congress reconvenes next week, the Senate and House will resume consideration of an administration request to increase military assistance to El Salvador from \$26 million to \$110 million for the current fiscal year.

Congressional concern about U.S. intelligence activities in a region has been heightened by a recent increase in fighting between

the military and anti-government forces in Nicaragua.

The escalation in hostilities, according to members of both the Senate and House Intelligence committees, has raised questions about whether the CIA has aided the anti-government forces, violating the amendment passed by Congress.

Members of the Senate Intelligence Committee, including Democrats and Republicans, said this past week that a majority of senators on the panel think that the CIA has insufficient control over the paramilitary forces that it supports in the region.

As a result, the senators said, units based in Honduras and Costa Rica that have received U.S. assistance, including money, advice and military equipment, have put some of that assistance to use during their current offensive in Nicaragua.

The law passed by Congress last year prohibits American support to paramilitary groups "for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government."

The law, named for its sponsor in the House, Representative Edward P. Boland, a Massachusetts Democrat, chairman of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, was passed after a flurry of published reports that the CIA was providing arms and financial assistance to anti-Sandinist groups based in Honduras and Costa Rica.



Representatives James L. Oberstar, center, and James M. Jeffords, right, offered recommendations at a news conference Thursday after returning to Washington from a fact-finding trip to El Salvador. At left is John McAward, a human rights activist.

Some members of Congress advocated adopting a more restrictive amendment that would bar U.S. support for any paramilitary group in Central America.

In the wake of the recent fighting between the military and anti-government forces in Nicaragua, renewed proposals for a more restrictive amendment have been discussed. Representative Michael D. Barnes, Democrat of Maryland, chairman of the House foreign affairs subcommittee on Latin America, introduced such an amendment in March.

Mr. Moynihan said that the Sen-

ate Intelligence Committee will review CIA activities in Central America during the next several weeks. He said that the committee, which tries to operate on a bipartisan basis, has not yet reached a consensus as to whether the Boland amendment has been breached.

Other members, who asked not to be identified, said that sentiment on the committee runs strongly to the view that the law has been violated in spirit, if not in letter. They said that the committee chairman, Senator Barry M. Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, shares that opinion.

The two congressional intelligence committees have been troubled by the CIA's covert operations in Central America since plans for the activities were approved by President Ronald Reagan in November 1981.

The plans, according to senior national security officials, called for the creation of at least one paramilitary force in Central America. One mission was an effort to block the flow of arms which the administration says goes from the Soviet Union and Cuba, through Nicaragua, to the guerrillas in El Salvador.

## Nicaragua Aides Warn Of 'Broader Conflict'

By Edward Cody

MANAGUA — The government of Nicaragua has asserted that U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces have made a new thrust across the Honduran border into northeastern Nicaragua and warned that "a broader conflict" with Honduras could result.

The denunciations by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega Saavedra and Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann on Thursday marked the second time in two weeks that Nicaraguan leaders have mentioned the possibility of war with Honduras because of stepped-up attacks by anti-Sandinist guerrillas operating from Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government asserts that the Reagan administration is working through former Nicaraguan National Guard officers and the Honduran Army, to destabilize the Sandinists. The revolutionary leadership came to power in July 1979 after toppling Anastasio Somoza.

"We do not want to dramatize things," Mr. d'Escoto said, "but I think it is obvious that to the degree the Honduran leadership keeps betraying the Honduran people... to the degree the Honduran leadership keeps using its territory for harassing the Nicaraguan people, in that degree U.S. imperialism could achieve what it is seeking: that is, a broader conflict, a military conflict."

"It is time for Honduras really to choose between recovery of its sovereignty, deciding its own destiny, forging its own relations, or continuing to be used as a tool to fight a war that is not a [declared] war and that has nothing to do with the interests of our peoples," he added.

President Ronald Reagan has sought to portray the recent fighting as a factional conflict between different elements of the revolutionary coalition that overthrew Somoza. He has declined comment on whether the United States was supporting the anti-Sandinist forces. Honduras has denied siding with them.

Mr. Ortega said the latest counterrevolutionary attacks came in Zelaya province, along the Coco River between Nicaragua and Honduras. He added that more than 2,000 Miskito Indians, armed by the insurgents, have gathered on the Honduran side of the river and two units totaling 250 men have entered Nicaragua over the last three days.

One unit crossed near Waspan and infiltrated south toward Santa Clara, Mr. Ortega said, while another moved across near the village of Kum, about 15 miles (24 kilometers) downstream.

Although the number of guerrillas reported in the new Zelaya fighting remained small, Mr. Ortega placed the clashes in the context of increased attacks in Matagalpa, Nueva Segovia and Chinandega provinces.

He estimated that 800 guerrillas remained in Nicaragua from a force of 1,200 that infiltrated earlier this year from Honduras in an attempt to "liberate" a patch of Nicaraguan territory. The rebels, he said, carried U.S.-financed arms.

But the clashes in Zelaya are particularly worrisome to the Sandinist leadership. The undeveloped area, the traditional domain of the Miskito and other Indian tribes, has almost no road communications, making government control difficult at best.

In addition, an estimated 13,000 Miskitos, opposing forced relocation by the Sandinists, have fled to Honduras. They have gone to refugee camps near Mocoron, becoming a ready manpower pool for counterrevolutionary organizers at most from the beginning of Sandinist rule.

Nicaraguan exile leaders in Florida and Costa Rica say one Miskito leader, Brooklyn Rivera, has allied his followers with such anti-Sandinist figures as Eden Pastora and Alfonso Robelo, who are headquartered in San José, Costa Rica.

Another Miskito leader, Steadman Fagoh, has forged a rough alliance with the main counterrevolutionary group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force.

## U.S. Investigates 4 Oil Companies' Dealings With Saudis

By Robert D. Hershey Jr.

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department is looking into possible antitrust violations in the relationship of four major American companies that jointly pump and buy most of the oil produced by Saudi Arabia.

Specifically, according to a senior department official who asked that he not be identified, the antitrust division has raised questions internally about a meeting in early January in which top officials of the companies met in Geneva with Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the Saudi oil minister. The subject was the slumping world oil market, which had led to sharp declines in prices.

The officials, who are believed to have been summoned by Sheikh Yamani, were George M. Kellor, chairman of Standard Oil Co. of California; Clifton C. Garvin Jr., chairman of Exxon Corp.; John K. McKinley, chairman of Tesco Inc.; and William P. Tivolares, president of Mobil Corp.

The four companies operate Saudi oil facilities under contract to the Arabian-American Oil Co., Aramco. The Saudi government acquired a 25-percent inter-

est in Aramco from the partners in 1973, raised its stake to 60 percent in 1974 and obtained the rest in 1980.

The January meeting, the justice official said Thursday, "caused some concern" at the department, which has not yet decided to open a formal investigation into whether the companies were engaged in anti-competitive behavior such as price-fixing.

"The procedure is you open an investigation if you think there's a reasonable possibility of discovering something," the source said. "You then start calling people requesting documents. But it's a neutral act to open an investigation. You have to have a reasonable probability that you're going to find something."

He said one obstacle to a formal inquiry was the issue of extrajurisdictional application of U.S. antitrust laws, which has prompted foreign criticism in various government enforcement cases in recent years.

Although there is no question that the Aramco partners, which enjoy no special antitrust immunity, are subject in all their activities to U.S. antitrust laws, there are doubts that a full-scale investigation could be made without involving other governments.

The January meeting was conducted at a time of world oversupply and when the Saudi benchmark

crude carried an official price of \$34 a barrel, well above the price at which the four companies could have purchased supplies elsewhere.

According to one account, the partners had decided to warn Sheikh Yamani that they would further cut their oil purchases unless the kingdom cut its prices or imposed new curbs on production. It is not known whether, in fact, prices were discussed at the Jan. 4 meeting, but Mr. Kellor of Standard of California, when asked afterward whether Saudi Arabia would agree to a price cut, reportedly said: "I haven't had any signs of that anywhere."

Neither Standard of California nor Exxon, which were asked Thursday for comment, had responded by early evening.

Meetings of consortium executives and Saudi officials have taken place periodically for decades. Most have been routine sessions, company spokesmen say. Prices are discussed on a one-to-one basis between the companies and the Saudi government, according to the spokesmen.

There are also said to have been special meetings involving one or more top corporate officials, usually at the initiative of Sheikh Yamani.

It is not clear whether the antitrust division regards the January meeting as significantly different from previous ones or whether the Reagan administration takes a dim view of this relationship. Assistant Attorney General William F. Baxter declined to discuss the issue Thursday.

It was also not known whether there is any relation between concern about the January meeting and a department inquiry dating from the mid-1970s into the activities of the international oil companies in general. Last September, when a New York Times interviewer asked about the long-dormant case, Mr. Baxter said he had recently "revisited" it, adding: "There may be some activity there sooner or later."

Aramco, which was founded in 1933 when the Saudi government signed a concession agreement with Standard of California, produces more crude oil and natural gas liquids than any company in the world and accounts for about 97 percent of Saudi output.

In 1980, Aramco's peak year, the company's output was 3.52 billion barrels, an average of 5.63 million a day. This is about equal to total U.S. production.

In the past decade or so, Aramco has been the biggest source of crude oil supplies for the American partners.

## Reagan Gave Dobrynin Reassurance on Talks

By Leslie H. Gelb

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoli F. Dobrynin in the Oval Office in February in an effort to reassure him about American sincerity toward negotiations with Moscow, according to White House officials.

The meeting took place after news reports appeared suggesting that Mr. Dobrynin was about to abandon his post there in frustration over the lack of serious negotiations with the administration.

Administration officials said Thursday that Mr. Dobrynin, who has been the Soviet ambassador to the United States for more than two decades, has come to personally channel for secret dealings between the two governments. Administration officials said his departure would have been read as a signal of rupture and lack of hope.

According to diplomatic sources, the Reagan overture was followed by a series of high-level, positive signals given publicly by Soviet leaders. But officials said the whole effort seemed to have fallen apart in the aftermath of Mr. Reagan's speech in early March accusing the Soviet Union of being the "evil empire," and Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov's in turn calling Mr. Reagan a liar.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz told a group of journalists Thursday that Soviet-American relations were "not particularly good right now." He said: "We need to work at the substance and if it turns out that the substance can be improved, then I think the tone of the relationship will improve."

Mr. Shultz mentioned several recent meetings with Mr. Dobrynin. But sources on both sides said that little or nothing was achieved. Nonetheless, the re-establishment of this channel remains the one surviving result of the Reagan initiative in mid-February.

Since he arrived in Washington in March 1962, Mr. Dobrynin has played a central role in crises and negotiations, from the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 through the strategic arms talks with the Carter administration. When delicate messages were to be passed or bargaining room sounded out, secretaries of state called in Mr. Dobrynin for private chats and drinks.

Mr. Dobrynin's easy access to the White House and the State Department was tempered sharply under Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and closed down further under Mr. Shultz. The Soviet Embassy began to put out the story that Mr. Dobrynin felt he was wasting his time.

At a date the White House still would not provide, Mr. Reagan called him in to a meeting with Mr. Shultz, as the only other person present.

Asked about this Thursday, a White House official said they did discuss "a comprehensive agenda," including human rights, arms control and other issues. No further comment would be made.

But other administration officials said Mr. Reagan told Mr. Dobrynin that he wanted the leaders of the Soviet Union to know that he was sincere about wanting to improve relations, that he was serious about arms control and that he wanted lines of communication



President Ronald Reagan, in a speech Thursday to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, said that proposals to freeze nuclear arsenals would do "more harm than good."

to stay open. Mr. Dobrynin was said to have asked whom to deal with, and Mr. Reagan pointed to Mr. Shultz.

Mr. Reagan's only other meeting with Mr. Dobrynin was in December, when he paid a condolence call at the Soviet Embassy at the time of Leonid I. Brezhnev's death.

The next move, according to diplomatic sources, came from the Soviet foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, who stated in a Pravda interview on Feb. 23 that the Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles were getting nowhere, but that "objectively, such a possibility does exist" for agreement. Defense Minister Dimitri F. Ustinov followed this with a speech on March 16, saying "the prerequisites for this success are at hand."

Western diplomats took these as positive signals, but saw no concrete indications that Moscow was prepared to alter any of its negotiating positions.

But whatever was really intended by the diplomatic telegraphy was soon swallowed up by yet another round of public recriminations.

Despite his tough and derogatory public statements about the Soviet Union, administration officials said that Mr. Reagan did not intend to close down communication. They pointed to an interview he gave to a British journalist published on March 20, in which he said he could foresee a summit meeting with Mr. Andropov sometime this year.

He also said in that interview that he was in touch with Mr. Andropov, "seeking areas of discussions for a meeting that could be beneficial to both sides."

## 2 at Pentagon Oppose Faster Laser Research

By George C. Wilson

WASHINGTON — The same day that President Ronald Reagan made his speech urging research into defenses against strategic missiles, two Pentagon officials cautioned against speeding up the current pace of research.

Major General Donald L. Lamberson of the air force, coordinator of the Pentagon's directed-energy weapons program, which includes lasers, said March 23 that he would not recommend spending more money than is already budgeted to find ways to stop missiles with beams of light shot from space.

John L. Gardner, director of defensive systems in the Pentagon's research office, said that, in discussing such exotic ideas as defense-based in space, "we cannot proceed much farther than we are currently proceeding before we would confront the bounds" of the antiballistic-missile treaty.

General Lamberson and Mr. Gardner expressed those views before a Senate Armed Services panel on strategic nuclear systems. Testimony indicates that many Defense Department professionals were caught by surprise when Mr. Reagan called for an intensified ABM effort.

Although Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger knew in advance about the president's call for a "comprehensive" effort to perfect a missile defense, his remarks since then indicate that only now is the administration drafting a blueprint for doing more than the Pentagon has been doing all along.

In a question other lawmakers

are expected to pursue in other hearings after the Congressional Armed Forces Committee, an Indiana Republican, asked General Lamberson: "Can you recommend to the committee an acceleration of the space-based laser technology program on technical grounds?"

"Senator, no, I cannot at this point in time," the general replied.

"A great amount of thought went into the plan which was submitted by the secretary last year, and which is the plan for space-based lasers that we are working against," he said, "we stand behind that plan and would not recommend an acceleration at this point."

George A. Keyworth, Mr. Reagan's science adviser, said after the president's speech that lasers were "a very promising" way to destroy Soviet missiles before they could hit the United States.

■ Weinberger Names Panel

Mr. Weinberger has named a Defensive Technology Security Committee to study ways to establish an antiballistic missile defense that could include laser, particle and energy beam space weapons, United Press International reported Thursday from Washington.

The panel is to include General Lamberson; Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Thayer; General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Vince Puritano, assistant secretary and chief of the controller's office; David Chu, director of program analysis, and defense undersecretaries of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.

## Block Declares Turkey Backs U.S. Against EC

Reuters

ANKARA — The United States said Friday that it had gained Turkey as a new ally in its battle against European Community food subsidies.

Agriculture Secretary John R. Block said after a series of meetings here that American and Turkish officials discussed their common problems over EC price-support programs, which the United States says undercut food exports from both countries on world markets.

"We see Turkey as an ally in the front we are presenting against EEC subsidies," Mr. Block said. "There are certain agricultural issues we have in common and which we need to deal with together."

The United States complains that it has lost sales in its traditional markets due to an unfair farm-subsidy policy by the EC of about \$7 billion a year.

Turkey is the first net exporter of food products that Mr. Block has visited on his 10-day tour of North Africa and the Middle East to drum up interest in U.S. agricultural exports.

Mr. Block said the United States wanted to be more aggressive in exporting to the Turkish market and had decided to station a full-time U.S. agricultural attaché in Ankara.

## Kaunda Warns West to Act Against Apartheid

United Press International

WASHINGTON — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said Friday that the West must press for changes in South Africa's apartheid policy or risk a bloody explosion in the area.

"If you don't act on apartheid, that thing is going to explode," Mr. Kaunda told the National Press Club. He suggested that the West had reacted more strongly to Soviet actions in Poland than to apartheid in Africa because of a double standard for black and white nations.

Mr. Kaunda accused South Africa of trying to undermine Zambia's government, including backing a 1980 coup attempt. "We have evidence to show that South Africa was involved in this coup," he said.

The African leader was winding up a Washington visit that included talks with President Ronald Reagan and other high-ranking

U.S. officials. He arranged to leave Saturday morning.

In his speech, Mr. Kaunda said that his talks here had contributed to a better understanding between the two countries. But Mr. Kaunda chided the West, particularly the United States, for failing to pressure South Africa's white government to change its policies.

Mr. Kaunda said that he has "no doubt" apartheid would be finished "if the West moved against apartheid seriously."

"Without action," he said, "racial violence will explode in South Africa that will make the French Revolution look like a Sunday morning children's picnic."

■ Supports Cuban Troops

Earlier, Dan O'Rourke of the Washington Post filed the following dispatch from Washington:

Mr. Kaunda said Thursday that he very strongly supported the

presence of Cuban military forces in Angola under present circumstances and called on the United States to create conditions to permit them to be sent home.

The African leader, fresh from discussions with Mr. Reagan, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other U.S. officials, described the presence of the Cubans as necessary to counter the "illegal" occupation by South African forces of parts of Angola and of neighboring South-West Africa (Namibia).

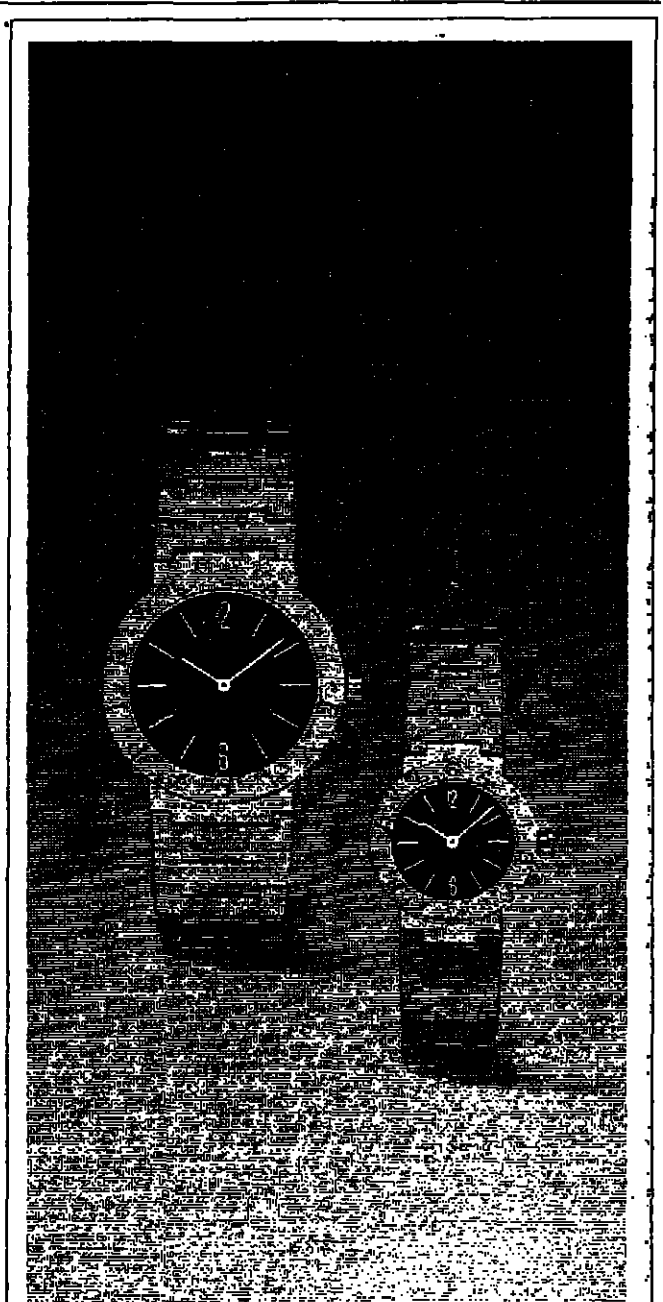
Pretoria assumed control of South-West Africa after the German defeat in World War I and in recent years has been fighting guerrillas seeking independence for the former colony.

In a breakfast meeting sponsored by the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Mr. Kaunda urged the

United States to take the lead in obtaining the withdrawal of the South African forces from Angola and Namibia. If this were done, he said, "all the front-line countries, much more so Angola, would like the Cubans to go back home."

The front-line countries are Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. "It is Washington that must move," Mr. Kaunda said. "If Washington does not move in the right direction, we all suffer."

Suzanne Solidor  
NICE (AP) — Suzanne Solidor, 82,



BVLGARI  
10 VIA DEI CONDOTTI - ROMA  
HOTEL PIERRE - NEW YORK  
30, RUE DU RHÔNE - GENEVE  
AVENUE DES BEAUX-ARTS - MONTE CARLO  
HOTEL PLAZA-ATHENEE - PARIS



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Financial Connections

Interest rates, as you may have noticed, have been inching slightly but steadily upward for the past month or so. It is nothing dramatic or, so far, terribly significant, merely a reminder that the coming recovery is not going to solve all of America's economic troubles. Interest rates are clearly not going to follow the trend of inflation downward. Over the past winter inflation has been negative; consumer prices in February were actually just a bit lower than they were last November. But interest rates are not moving with them.

Because interest rates have edged up, dollar rates against other currencies are also up a little. And because that makes American exports harder to sell, by the same slight degree, it is not helpful for American employment. The drop in American exports last year was chiefly responsible for the unexpected prolongation of a recession that, everyone thought a year ago, would surely end last spring.

The rise in the interest rates is a reaction to the rapid increases in the money supply and the swelling federal deficit. Usually the government's borrowing requirements in the spring quarter are negligible, because of income tax filings in April. This year is apparently going to see a startling departure from that pattern. One economist, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers, the investment banking firm, estimates that the Treasury will need to

borrow \$42 billion in this year's spring quarter. That is four times the borrowing in the same quarter last year. Against that kind of pressure the Federal Reserve Board can hope to stabilize either the money supply or the interest rates, but not both.

The financial markets' economists are worth listening to. John D. Paulus of Morgan Stanley argues that large deficits and rising interest will not choke off the economic recovery now beginning, but will distort it in deeply damaging ways. "What is at stake for U.S. workers is not just jobs," he recently observed, "but the quality of their jobs." Sustained high interest costs and heavy federal borrowing will slow the flow of capital into the competitive new industries that promise the highest productivity gains. It is productivity that raises real wages and standards of living.

From its beginning the Reagan administration has run a self-contradictory economic policy. It points its fiscal policy in one direction, with hugely expansive deficits, and its monetary policy in the other, with tight money and high interest. It would be a bitter irony if this administration, after all its talk about increasing capital formation and productivity, ended by stunting and derailing those crucial processes with its uncontrolled deficits. But that is the warning from Wall Street.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Profiles and Justice

In their own legalistic way, the Supreme Court justices sure do play rough. Consider what William Rehnquist called Byron White's opinion in an airport arrest case recently: a "meandering opinion," replete with "opaque nuances," one that "stutters, fudges and fumbles"—fine as an impressionist painting, "but the same cannot be said if it is to be judged by the standards of a judicial opinion."

Justice White had delivered the court's judgment reversing a drug conviction in an opinion explaining why a "drug courier profile," often used to identify suspected smugglers, is not always enough to justify an arrest.

Drawing such careful distinctions is hard work for moderate judges, and easy for absolutists. Yet it is the court's vital task to draw the line between lawful police activity and the invasion of citizens' rights.

Far from veneration, Justice White and his co-signers deserve credit for trying.

The opinion acknowledged that airport searches and other encounters between police and citizens are so varied that courts cannot always lay down rules that are both clear and simple. "Nevertheless," as Justice White said, "we must render judgment."

Detectives spotted young Mark Royer walking through the Miami airport with two heavy suitcases, looking nervous. They watched him pay for his airline ticket to New York in small bills. His mannerisms, luggage and actions fit the "profile" of traits that many drug couriers share. When they stopped him and asked for identification, they found that he had bought the ticket under an assumed name. Holding his ticket and a driver's license, the detectives invited Mr. Royer to a nearby interrogation room, where he allowed them to open his luggage.

Sure enough, marijuana.

The trouble, said Justice White, was that, realistically speaking, the traveler was under illegal arrest when he gave that consent. His arrest was based on suspicion, which is less than the probable cause required for police to deprive a person of liberty.

For the dissenters, the issue was simple and the drug profile essentially adequate to justify the detention and search. But if they had prevailed, many an innocent traveler would have fresh cause for anxiety. All that cautious talk in the Rehnquist dissent about fudge and impressionism hardly helps the court or liberty.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Bishops and Disobedience

The British churches, all of which have agonized over the moral issues of nuclear defense, are now to be invited to agonize about the related issue of civil disobedience. The international affairs department of the British Council of Churches has produced a report which favors the right to withhold taxes and the use of nonviolent but illegal forms of protest by those who oppose nuclear defense policy on moral grounds.

Before the churches concerned have even begun to digest the argument, let alone the conclusions, the government's controversial bill extending police powers has raised the matter in a quite different way. Like such groups as the British Medical Association, the bishops of the Church of England have declared their resistance to the bill, particularly the potential invasion of priestly confidence entailed in the proposed powers of search. The BMA has indicated that doctors will, on grounds of conscience, break the law if it is passed. The bishops could hardly do less, if it came to the point of civil disobedience. This would be civil disobedience.

—Clifford Langley in The Times (London).

### Qadhafi's Isolation Grows

The announcement of a coming friendship and cooperation pact between the Soviet Union and Libya is an initiative that benefits Libya more than the Soviets (who know the Arab-Islamic world offers varied and more promising opportunities) and the Qadhafi regime more than Libyans themselves. Colonel Qadhafi is constantly more isolated and more threatened. Not only is he in the sights of President Reagan, who from time to time produces military action to show that his verbal ardor can materialize at any moment; not only is he singled out by the Western countries, which accuse him of stirring up all sorts of terrorism and of financing subversive movements—he is also rejected by most Arab countries. Current active diplomatic move-

ment toward a grand Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) may never produce a solid result, but it does suggest the makings of an anti-Libyan front, and raise hope that if Libya could rid itself of Col. Qadhafi it could join in the movement and profit more from wealth than currently appears to be wasted.

All Col. Qadhafi's initiatives in recent months have been decidedly defensive, suggesting fright and a feeling of encirclement. The announcement of the Soviet treaty, while Tunisians, Algerians and Moroccans improve relations and the Sixth Fleet cruises off Libya's shores, reflects this growing insecurity. The eventuality of an internal coup against Col. Qadhafi cannot be ruled out.

—El País (Madrid).

### France and Cambodia

It appears to us that [French Foreign Minister Claude] Cheysson uttered highly contradictory statements during his visits here and to Hanoi. [They] concerned the French attitude toward Hanoi and especially the Cambodia problem created by Vietnam by its invasion and colonization of that unhappy country.

The first event was the signing of a "joint declaration" by the European and ASEAN foreign ministers. By his signature, he "deplored the illegal military occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces." He called for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and for elections supervised by the United Nations. Then he flew off to Hanoi, where he said that France did not want to see Vietnamese forces pulled out of Cambodia, at least not right away, because the Khmer Rouge would then likely overthrow the Heng Samrin regime and regain control.

Confused? Well, we are. Mr. Cheysson, it seems, wanted to be on both sides of an issue. His remarks in Hanoi come dangerously close to supporting colonialism. What is called for, we think, is some more explanation from the French foreign minister about what he really means and really wants.

—The Bangkok Post.

## FROM OUR APRIL 2 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1908: Trouble Feared in Haiti

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti.—The excitement against General Cocon is growing. Madame Gallette, who is in prison, has confirmed to the judge General Mervet's statement about the General Cocon being the real author of the conspiracy of March 15 and that he spoke of killing whites. The people are terrified by the negro General Cocon and declare him to be capable of anything. Preparations have been made to defend the French legation. Fresh troubles are feared, for the rivalry between negroes and mulattoes is becoming most acute. So great is the anxiety that the intervention of the United States appears to be desired, and not only by the foreign residents.

### 1933: Jewish Shops Boycotted

BERLIN.—Of all the topsy-turvy happenings of this eventful age no spectacle has been more curious than that witnessed here [yesterday]—one of the most highly civilized nations making discrimination against the entire race of Jews. The 24-hour boycott of all Jewish shops, which is likely to be resumed if anti-German propaganda abroad does not totally cease, was carried out all over the Reich. After the boycott began at 10 o'clock, bands of brownshirts went around the town pasting labels consisting of a big yellow spot on a black background—the sign that the Jews were forced to wear on their sleeves in the days of the ghetto—on the windows of Jewish shops.

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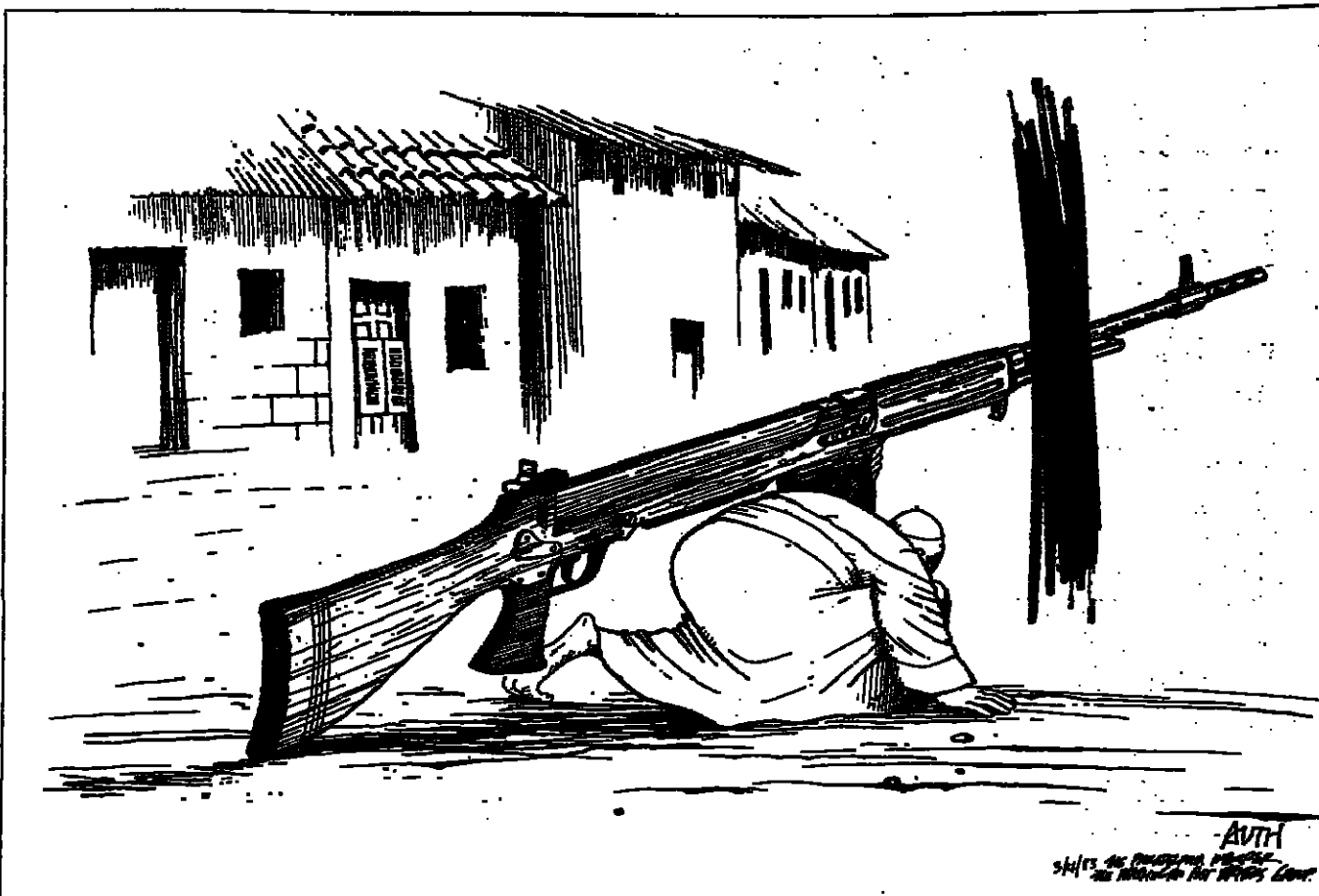
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## Violence and Hope in Central America

By Lawrence A. Pezzullo

WASHINGTON.—Central America has become surrealistic. The Sandinistas, who advertise their revolution as a religious experience, treat the pope to a Roman curia. The Salvadoran military spends more energy in internal squabbles than in fighting insurgents. President Reagan calls El Salvador the linchpin of the hemisphere. No wonder people are confused.

Central America has been plagued by violence for decades without attracting much notice. Why all the attention now?

The collapse of the Somoza dynasty in July 1979 broke a psychological logjam for change that had been building throughout the region for decades. The fear generated by the rapid change that followed is as evident in Nicaragua, where self-proclaimed revolutionaries are ineffective in dealing with it, as in El Salvador and Guatemala, where vested interests cling to the past.

One myth must be put to rest. The Somoza regime fell because it was corrupt and turned all sectors of Nicaraguan society against it. Anastasio Somoza, not Fidel Castro, was the villain.

There was no way to save Gen. Somoza. His closest allies in Central America turned their backs on him. The Carter administration was present at the wake, but was hardly to blame for his demise. The Nixon administration should have advised Gen. Somoza not to run for an "illegal" second term in 1974. A political opening at that time would have permitted the democratic opposition an opportunity to build a political transition from dictatorship to democracy.

The last opportunity to pave the way to a non-violent transition of power came during the OAS-sponsored mediation from October 1978 to January 1979. The United States, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, representing the OAS, attempted unsuccessfully to get Gen. Somoza to negotiate seriously with a coalition of predominantly moderate forces. In aborting that effort, he radicalized the political environment and fostered the popular insurrection that toppled him. He created the Sandinist power base among noncommitted Nicaraguans, something the Sandinistas, even with help from Fidel Castro, were unable to achieve on their own.

Gen. Somoza dragged the National Guard

down with him. Its destruction sent a clear signal to other armed forces in Central America.

Gen. Somoza's fall acted as a catalyst for change because it destroyed the illusion of the permanence of the "old order" in Central America. Groups of all political persuasions perceived his fall in symbolic terms, each calculating more often miscalculating—how it would affect its future. Enlightened sectors of the military in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala embraced reform programs to avoid suffering the same fate as the Nicaraguan National Guard.

The overthrow of the moribund Salvadoran regime of President Carlos Humberto Romero in October 1979 was engineered by a cabal of reform-minded military officers.

Three years later Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, similarly motivated, toppled a repressive military-controlled Guatemalan government.

Guerrilla groups throughout the region interpreted the Sandinist victory as evidence that Central America was ripe for revolution. The Sandinistas helped create this illusion by deliberately misreading their own access to power. It was not the result, as they boasted, of their defeating the National Guard, but rather the consequence of a popular insurrection by the Nicaraguan people of all political stripes.

Mr. Castro bought the "domino theory," which local guerrilla groups were feeding him to get his support. As the "godfather" of Latin American revolutionaries, he was unable to ignore their arguments. Indeed, he could not rule out the possibility that the era of Central American revolution had arrived. His intelligence came from covert agents given to action, not objective analysis. So Mr. Castro became a believer, conditioning his support on the unification of guerrilla fronts in each country.

The oligarchy in El Salvador and kindred spirits in Guatemala and, to a lesser extent, in Honduras saw the walls closing in on them and mounted a major campaign to convince the political right in the United States that "communism," not their exploitative and corrupt

practices, was the root cause of instability.

The internal drama in Central America centers on the interplay of these forces: legitimate political parties scared by repression and denied the experience to develop political skills; enlightened businessmen tarred by the corruption of a tarnished business sector; an embattled media, and, most important, semiliterate peasants and indigenous people who suffer the failures and abuses of governments.

Opportunists of all stripes, some indigenous and some outsiders, jump on and off bandwagons. Various actors in the international community add their voices. And instead of helping Central Americans search for solutions, Washington unwisely becomes part of the problem.

The United States has entered into a play of forces that it neither understands nor can control. Neither the extreme right, which is wedded to the past, nor the extreme left, which offers another form of repression, is a viable force.

By identifying Cuban/Soviet subversion as the cause of the Central American turmoil, Washington shields the abusive factions from taking responsibility for their failures, and lessens the pressure on them to change.

At the same time it gives the Cubans and Soviets more credit than they deserve among a populace unhappy with the status quo and pressing for change. North Americans repeat the historical error of positioning themselves, the most change-oriented society on the globe, as seemingly defending the status quo.

Central Americans will have to come to grips with their intimately intertwined national and regional problems, and the United States can help. There is no surer way to curb Cuban involvement than to strengthen the historical Central American interest in regional cooperation.

But by speaking intemperately and substituting posturing for thoughtful policy, Washington is losing support both at home and with an important hemispheric and world audience that is tired of listening to its clichés.

The writer, now retired, was U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua from 1979 to 1981. He contributed this column to the Los Angeles Times.

## The Pressures on Nakasone Will Keep Growing

By Hobart Rowen

TOKYO.—"This is probably the most critical year of all in our relations with Japan." That is the sober judgment of U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield, whose efforts to achieve a sensible compromise on outstanding U.S.-Japanese issues have made him a revered figure here.

In an interview, Mr. Mansfield said that Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's effort to further open Japanese markets to foreign goods, and a professed willingness to share military technology with the United States, "have bought some time."

But it is clear to this reporter after a week of conversations with officials on both sides, business leaders and other opinion makers, that the tensions have grown, not lessened.

Moreover, what are widely regarded as indiscretions by Mr. Nakasone on his recent trip to America—where he displayed a hawkish stance toward Moscow to the detriment of offering to make the Japanese islands an "unsinkable aircraft carrier"—have weakened his popular support.

As a result, factions in his Liberal Democratic party are already gunning for him. They think Mr. Nakasone is willing to make too many concessions to the United States on trade and economic issues.

A further complication is that the Reagan administration is now pressing what amounts to an unrelenting effort to get Japan to beef up not only the total amount of its defense expenditures, but its true military capabilities in the present year.

Washington regards the Soviet Union as the enemy. But most Japanese, although uncomfortable with needless provocations from the Russians, still prefer to regard the Soviet Union as "a difficult neighbor."

One problem is that Tokyo is not really sure how much of an additional military budget will satisfy the Reagan administration.

There is no longer any disposition to contest Washington's point that Japan is getting a "free ride" when its budget calls for less than 1 percent of GNP for defense. At the first opportunity, Mr. Nakasone intends to try to pull the Diet into a commitment breaking the 1-percent barrier.

But U.S. officials have been emphasizing to their counterparts here that merely to break into the 1.5- or 2-percent zone of defense spending will not relieve Japan of the "free ride" charge. There is talk of "burden sharing" that can be achieved only if Japan expands economic assistance abroad and undertakes vaguely defined political and diplomatic responsibilities around the world.

Japanese officials told Henry Kissinger, Helmut Schmidt, Raymond

Barre and other Westerners at a round-table discussion here this week that Japan will be able to move only slowly into a more active military posture. These Japanese officials are a bit bewildered by what seems an expanded American demand.

On strictly economic and trade issues, Japan still must deal with the "fairness" question. Prof. Ezra Vogel, whose book "Japan as Number One" has attracted attention here, feels that the widespread belief that Japan does not play the trade game fairly will lead to loss of protectionist bills in the U.S. Congress. But the public perception here is that Japan is being scapegoated for what are essentially American competitive failures.

The Japanese are astonished by complaints such as that of Rep. Sam

Gibbons here this week that Japan targets industries for export attack, picking a product and then marshaling all forces to take it over. The Japanese public believes that American companies complaining about lack of access to Japanese markets are simply not doing a good enough job.

"That is a very powerful feeling," says Prof. Vogel. "I've been doing a lot of speaking to Japanese groups, and that's very much the mood you get in the question period."

Where does the truth lie? Prof. Vogel says that the Japanese markets are not as open as some Japanese believe, "but not as closed as a lot of Americans believe." The cutting edge of the problem is that in high-tech areas where the United States has a lead, the Japanese policy still is to

buy as few foreign machines as possible, then to work hard to produce something as good or better.

In agricultural goods, the protectionist power of the farm lobbies is unshaken. After 20 years of effort, America has moved only from 1 to 1.4 percent of the cigarette market. Beef quotas do nothing except line producers' pockets at the expense of the Japanese consumer, who otherwise would be able to buy cheaper American or Australian meat.

One gets the feeling that Mr. Nakasone is trying harder than any recent Japanese prime minister to shake off unfair practices. He meets some resistance in the Japanese bureaucracy and in the business world. But to survive he will have to pacify Japanese public opinion that fears his hawkish trend in military affairs.

The Washington Post.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### In Christ's Name?

Regarding "Reagan and His Political Opponents Escalate Religious and Moral Rhetoric" (IHT, March 23):

Ronald Reagan claims that critics of his policies on arms control and military spending try to play the United States in "a position of moral inferiority" and that the Cold War is "a struggle between right and wrong, good and evil." The irony is that he continues to arm El Salvador while the rape and murder of five U.S. churchwomen by Salvadoran National Guardsmen goes unresolved.

MICHAEL MULLIGAN, Munich.

Regarding "Connecticut Congregation Preaching Ethics in Business" (IHT, March 2): by Michael Winipip:

Christians the world over should beware the distortion of their faith as implied in Mr. Winipip's report on the daylong seminar sponsored by St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Danen, Connecticut. The theme of the gathering—"Is Christ chairman of your board?"—is an affront to the essential tenets of Christianity.

What these communicants at St. Paul's were discussing had nothing to do with the significance of Jesus Christ. They were simply evaluating the payoff of ethical behavior. The principles of decent morality are no monopoly of Christianity and were identified by mankind long before the arrival of Jesus of Nazareth.

Let the good people of St. Paul's go back to the Epistles that their patron saint sent to the young churches of his parish-at-large. They will find

therein no suggestions implying the efficacy of "Pray now and get paid later" that appear to have intrigued the burghers of Danen. Paul of Tarsus was not indifferent to good works; he simply pointed out that the righteous expression of a Christian faith and were, moreover, irrelevant to one's credentials with God. Obviously, moral principles are an essential basis for a high quality of life hereabouts. But they are not the invention of Christ and they have nothing to do with the ultimate significance of Christianity.

THOMAS C. SCHULLER, Beirut.

### Reality and Reality

Once a year I come to Europe to visit, and read your paper. I am shocked, as I presume other Americans are, by the anti-U.S. government tone of your articles. What purpose is served by all the anti-Reagan articles? I think you are a little out of touch with reality.

MORTON M. BLOCK, Palo Alto, California.

Courageous reporters have researched and written two controversial stories (IHT, March 29) that are embarrassing to the U.S. government. Thomas O'Toole ("Documents Reveal U.S. Role in Protection of Nazi Criminals in Postwar Era") exposes the lack of U.S. cooperation with the allies in the handling of Nazi war criminals after the war. Stephen Kinzer ("Visit to an 'Anti-Sandinist Camp'") presents direct evidence contradicting recent statements by

U.S. and Honduran representatives to the United Nations Security Council concerning alleged non-support of Nicaraguan insurgents.

Democracy is stronger because we have such newspapers and such journalists. Front-page international publication of stories critical of our government gives greater credence to the internationalist. Herald Tribune's worldwide coverage, such as the astonishing new evidence (IHT, March 24) of a Bulgarian connection in the assassination attempt on the pope. I wish the governments of Poland and the Soviet Union—to mention only two of many countries, East and West—could realize how much their societies would benefit from developing a strong free press.

Prof. JOHN A. ERNEST, University of California, Santa Barbara, California.

### Relief in Lebanon

Regarding "A Blanket, Candy, a New Testament, a Frisbee" (IHT, March 16) by Dan Connell:

As Beirut residents, we appreciate the perceptive comments of Mr. Connell. We would like to make one correction and one addition. Agencies like Save the Children, Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services and the Middle East Council of Churches (Protestant and Orthodox) assist needy residents of Lebanon across the board. Even the church-related institutions they help do not discriminate on any basis other than need. As for the addition: We are most concerned over the negative position taken by current Lebanese authori-

## The Jews Who Can't Emigrate

By Leopold Unger

JERUSALEM.—Professor Nshum J. Neiman, 72, is a Soviet Jewish scholar who has been waiting since 1975 for a passport to come live in Israel with his only child. His requests to leave have been refused regularly, although, as he says, "I haven't got much time left."

As a result of this permanent frustration of his rights, Prof. Neiman joined Andrei Sakharov and his wife in founding the Helsinki Group, which, until its recent KGB-initiated breakup, recorded violations of civil rights in the Soviet Union.

The professor addressed a letter to the Madrid conference that has placed the issue of Soviet Jews on the agenda of those international talks. He asked a simple question: If the Helsinki follow-up sessions are not able to solve a patently clear violation of civil rights such as the one I represent, what good are you?

The Madrid conference could receive many letters of this kind. More than 400,000 Jews who have been invited by relatives in Israel may find themselves in the same situation as Prof. Neiman, since the number of refusals of the right to leave the Soviet Union has mushroomed since the "liberal" Yuri Andropov came to power.

From 1970 to 1982 about 270,000 Jews were allowed out, but only 2,700 in 1982. Emigration has practically ceased. The average dropped from 4,500 departures a month in 1975 to 125 in February and 21 in the first two weeks of March.

As if that were not enough, the life of refugees becomes increasingly difficult among the Russians. At least 20 are in prison, including Josef Begun, a mathematician sentenced for "parasitism" because after he asked to emigrate he could no longer find a job and managed to earn a living by giving private Hebrew lessons.

Hundreds of refugees are subjected to various forms of official discrimination as well as to growing "popular" anti-Semitism. A new game has cropped up in Soviet schools, called "concentration camp." Jewish children are invited to play, but then are no longer called by their names but by a number.

It's all there again: Jews are not allowed to leave the Soviet Union, and their lives are made intolerable.

This is what the just-concluded Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry discussed in Jerusalem. The meeting was called to follow the first two held in 1971 and 1976 in Brussels, and after discussions it reached the same conclusion: The situation of the Jews in Russia is not a political but a humanitarian issue.

What Soviet Jews want is either the right to live as Jews in the Soviet Union or the right to leave.

Yet, although the question of Jews in the Soviet Union is undeniably a humanitarian one, it has never shed its political nature. It is a crying denunciation of the failure of communism.

If Moscow did allow 270,000 Jews to emigrate, it was because Soviet Jews have maintained constant pressure, but especially because the emigration issue is a very real factor in Soviet-U.S. relations. It has figured in all U.S.-Soviet negotiations. The figures speak for themselves: Emigration varies according to the state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Delegates to the Jerusalem meeting suggested many different reasons for the Soviet attitude toward the Jews, but the 1,500 delegates from 31 countries—many of them non-Jews—agreed on the moral aspect of solidarity with the 3 million Soviet Jews, the biggest Jewish community outside the United States and Israel.

Josef Mendeleevich, who was able to leave the Soviet Union after paying for the right to be a Jew by spending nine years in the Gulag, read a message to the assembly in Jerusalem. It was a letter from a "prisoner of Zion," a Jew still held in a Soviet camp, who made only one request: "Don't forget us. We have no hope except in you. If you were to be silent, we would no longer exist."

International Herald Tribune.

ties in relation to the foreign nurses and doctors volunteering for service here under the sponsorship of these agencies. Visas are being denied, work permits are not extended and limitations are being set on whether or not these volunteers are assigned to Palestinian communities.

The excuse is said to be that Lebanese should have the jobs. Actually there are not nearly enough nurses to go around, and few Lebanese doctors would be willing to work full-time under the conditions and terms that the foreign doctors accept. These bureaucratic blocks reflect a disturbing anti-Palestinianism on the part of those who forget that Lebanon's real enemy is not the Palestinians expelled from their homeland next door 35 years ago but rather the Israelis who expelled them and now occupy one-third of Lebanon as well.

For security reasons, I ask that my name not appear on this letter.

Beirut.

Mr. Connell, in his well-documented article, offers an interesting list of recommendations for turning the situation around in Lebanon. It seems to me, however, that the most obvious solution to the Lebanese problem lies in the withdrawal of all foreign troops. This would allow the Lebanese government to exercise full authority over its own territory and assume full responsibility for putting a stop to subversion, protecting all those who reside legally on its soil—Palestinian civilians and others—and ensuring their welfare.

GHIDA KHALIDY, Beirut.











ARTS / LEISURE

# The Implausibility of 'Ben'

By Michael Gibson  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — One of the more implausible artistic events of recent years is the more or less simultaneous presentation of the work of Ben Vautier, better known as Ben, in 14 different places in Paris — art galleries, a theatre and a cinema.

Ben is the foremost French spokesman of Fluxus, a movement recently described by an American critic as "Dada plus vandale." As such he is part clown, part philosopher — although his philosophy is rather like one of those tingly machines that take off with a reading noise, break into steam and sparks and finally destroy themselves.

Ben is hyperactive, with a manic capacity for work and worry and talk. Like Yasser Arafat, he always manages to have a three-day smile on his chin, and he goes around in a Volkswagen van, with all over with the "wonder of Ben" — a creaky, rubbery old vehicle that hardly leads one to take him seriously. Still, it may give one pause to realize that his jerry-built "boutique" from Nice (a sort of portable favela with inscriptions) is now ensconced in the National Museum of Modern Art at the Pompidou Center. He was known in Nice as the Galerie BOUT — for "Ben donne la toue" (Ben has doubts about everything).

As far as can be ascertained, he was born in Naples in 1935, the son of an Irish mother and a French-speaking Swiss father. He grew up in Turkey, Egypt and Greece and settled in Nice in 1949. He speaks English with a French accent laced with brogue, and French influenced by something hard to place, possibly Egyptian lilt.

Ben has been active as an artist (or whatever he may be) since 1958 and has been a familiar figure on the international art scene for at least 15 years, getting himself noticed, for instance, at the 1972 Documenta in Kassel by installing a bed on a dais in one of the ground floor exhibition halls, and then getting into the bed and snoozing through the inauguration.

Ben claims filiation with Marcel Duchamp and John Cage, which is as may be. In any event his activity is based on a few simple assumptions that he drew from the dicta of Duchamp and/or Cage: Art is life and life is art and everything is art and art is everything. Starting from this sort of premise one is bound to run into some problems of elementary logic, but these problems are the substance of Ben's work, the contradictions that feed his manic drive.

He is a great talker (talk is art), a year or two ago he had a show at Daniel Templon's gallery in which he would sit behind a desk and hold forth on a subject close to him (almost any subject is dear to him) as soon as a visitor appeared. Ben obviously represents the carnival streak in art and this suggests that he should probably be encouraged to get implausible events going in the streets at fixed dates.

The current showing of his work includes "Portraits 1962-1983" at the Galerie Beaumont (23 rue du Renard through April 30), a perfect illustration of both the manic and the carnival streaks. Almost anything goes into these portraits, including the kitchen sink, empty paint tins, wire coat hangers and whatever unremarkable object happens to be handy. They are gloriously sloshed with paint and have absolutely no aesthetic interest in any recognized sense of the word. Their real attraction is of the sort offered by a clown — remembering that any good clown is a pro.

The Lucien Durrand Gallery (19 rue Mazarme through April 9) is

## Slow Train From China

The Associated Press  
YORK, England — A 200-ton steam locomotive, built in Britain in 1935 and exported to China in the 1930s, has been handed over to the National Railway Museum in York. The train, rescued since it arrived in Britain two years ago, was a gift from China.

presenting "Les Bananes" — a series of bananas done on unpainted canvas with paint pressed directly out of the tube and solemnly framed in high-quality frames. Here again one must bear in mind that any carnival is an act of plebeian insolence and vitality that stands the world on its head.

Chantal Crousel, who will be showing painted shop fronts (whatever they may be) in her gallery (80 rue Quincampoix, starting April 30) is also sponsoring a showing of Ben's films at La Pegase, a splendid Japanese extravaganza of a building, now a cinema (at the corner of the rue de Babylone and rue Monsieur), at midnight April 29. The films are all shorts, showing events such as Ben, wrapped from head to foot in a gummy sack, rolling somebodies blind through regular weekday traffic to get to the other side of an avenue in Nice.

There is to be a Fluxus International show featuring Ben (obviously) at the J. and J. Dougny Gallery (27 rue de la Republique, April 6 through April 30) and a show of Ben's writings, old and new, at Templon's (30 rue Beaumont, April 13 through May 12). These are mostly simple statements done in childish script, white on a black ground, or vice versa. Some examples: "I am a failure as an artist," "I paint for glory," "While you look at this time passes," "Who

was right, Duchamp or Matisse?" "Anybody can have an idea."

Ben has become not an institution (fortunately) but a familiar feature and a jester of the art world. Like any jester he knows that gossip and indiscretion are his business, and among his many activities one should mention the publication of a sloppy bulletin (sloppiness is part of Ben's style) full of art world gossip, self-deprecating comments, worry about what this or that critic said about him ("He isn't even funny," says Rastelli in "Art and Artists") and sweeping statements about just about anything. (The bulletin's name changes from one issue to the next, but it is always a two-syllable word with "art" as the second syllable).

Like any efficient jester, he is also a good barometer of the situation in the court at which he serves. Ben's court is mainly the art community of France and West Germany. But one should bear in mind that life of the imagination in any court has two poles, the jester is one and the high priest is the other. It is the jester's business to deride the priest, and the priest's to sneer at the jester. Today's priests (officials in museums) appear to be sitting down and listening solemnly to the jester — which is no fun, for the jester can very quickly become a cause of ruin and confusion.



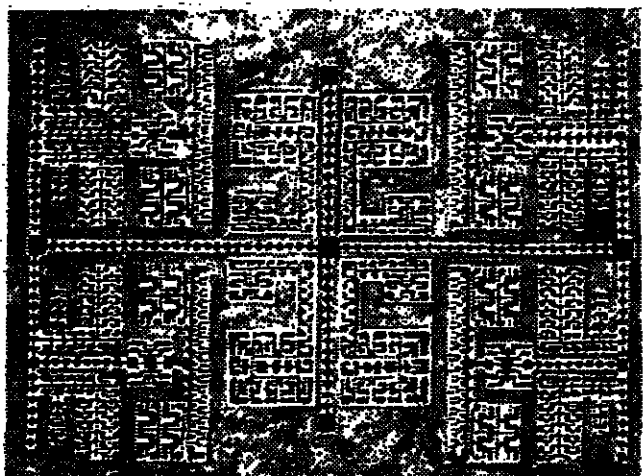
Ben Vautier amid samples of his work.

# Designs for Rugs, Tapestries Draw Low Bids

By Souron Melikian  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — It doesn't pay to be a great master — the greatest in your field — if your achievement is not publicized. Even the current dearth of high-quality pieces in almost every field of art won't help in boosting prices. A striking illustration of the art market mercuria when confronted with important work of a little-known type has just been provided by an auction covering 20th-century objects d'art.

The sale conducted Wednesday at Drouot by Gilles Néret-Minet included 52 designs in pen and wash or gouache done as cartoons



Detail of labyrinth in cartoon by Ivan da Silva Bruhns.

for rugs and tapestries by Ivan da Silva Bruhns. While the name may not mean a great deal to the general public, Da Silva Bruhns is acknowledged by most experts and collectors of Art Deco as the leading creator of rugs and tapestries in the 1920s and '30s. To them his stature is about the same as Emile Ruhlmann's in furniture making or Jean Dunant's in lacquer and metalwork. This view was shared in the artist's lifetime. He was one of the most successful careers any artist can hope for.

Da Silva Bruhns, who was born in Paris in 1881 of Brazilian parents, retained his Brazilian passport until his death in 1980. However, he had little to do with the homeland of his ancestors and was totally immersed in Parisian life. Heaving medical medicine and biology, he almost immediately turned to painting. He

did his work at the Salon des Indépendants as early as 1911 and went on sending in paintings through 1923. From 1915 he also contributed to the Salon d'Automne, of which he remained a member until 1936. Indeed, painting appears to have been his great dream. A kind of late Cubist interpretation in oils of a stone head from pre-Columbian Mexico could be seen at the sale. It is dated 1977, only three years before his death in Antibes. By then, Da Silva Bruhns had given up doing cartoons.

The beginning of his success as an avant-garde designer coincides with the emergence of the Art Deco style. He opened a gallery at 9 Rue de Fougère in 1925, the year when the great World Exhibition of Decorative Art at the Pavillon de Marsan — a part of the Louvre palace — consecrated the new style. Da Silva Bruhns' rugs won him a *medaille d'honneur* at the Art Deco show. In contrast to avant-garde painting and sculpture,

which aroused little interest, avant-garde design — well received. Commissioned from official quarters as well as the very rich, he executed rugs and tapestries for the French embassies in Berlin, Warsaw and Washington, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Senate in Paris and the Palais des Nations in Geneva.

In 1936, a traveling exhibition of his rugs was seen in nine cities in the United States. His fame even reached India, where a modern-minded ruler, the Maharaja of Indore, commissioned rugs.

For 15 years, between 1925 and 1940, the painter-designer worked with leading interior decorators and furniture makers of the period — Lelou, Ruhlmann, Adnet. His clients included the writers André Gide and Sacha Guitry, the entertainers Mistinguett or Cécile Sorel and the diplomat André François Poncet and the royal family of Monaco.

The secret of Da Silva Bruhns' success lies in the knack he had of drawing motifs from ancient art that were familiar to the establishment and giving them a modern flavor in layout and color-scheme. Looking at the cartoons — on Wednesday's sale, one could not but be astonished by the wide range of cultures from which he borrowed. The Art Nouveau and Art Deco expert Félix Marillat, who wrote a brief preface to the catalog and described the items, rightly mentions Aztec patterns. These were for instance the source for a splendid project in gouache and wash dated 1937. The beige motif, suggestive of a bas-relief, stands out against a warm red background. That was sold for 2,200 francs (about \$300).

Other rugs clearly owed much to China, a source of inspiration that has gone unnoticed so far. One of the finest projects is based on geometric motifs of imbricating rectangles or squares. The layout is typical of some Chinese rugs — a border, four angular motifs in the inner field, an elongated rectangular block in the center. But even more Chinese is the bichromy — deep blue on a pale golden ground. Here, the price for the cartoon was a mere 530 francs, despite the size — 48 by 58 centimeters — partly, perhaps, because this one, like a few others, was not inscribed with Da Silva Bruhns' name.

A third strong source of inspiration was Iranian art, from traditional rugs to vaulting patterns culled from architectural design. A striking case was a project dated 1925. The typical intersecting arcs and central motif reminiscent of Kufic lettering point, very precisely, to some 14th-century brick dome as the model. That sold for 1,900 francs.

Such prices may seem ludicrously low, but they were typical — the most expensive piece, dated 1934, going up to a mere 4,600 francs.

Nor is this unusual. The only other time when similar rug cartoons by Da Silva Bruhns came up at auction in any significant quantity, prices were comparable. This was in June 1981 at Monte Carlo, when Sotheby's auctioned 28 lots of such cartoons — some lots including several drawings. True, one drawing described as "gray stalk on a pink ground" zoomed to 24,550 francs. But the second highest price was 6,960 francs for a lot including eight drawings. Yet Sotheby's sale had been heavily advertised, and what the Drouot sale lacked in advertising was largely

made up for by the worldwide network of Félix Marillat's business contacts. No matter where the sale is held, prices just don't vary very much.

Given the rarity of Da Silva Bruhns' surviving cartoons, this state of affairs is even more remarkable. It might change soon, though. One of the main buyers at the sale was Barry Friedman, from the New York gallery, Modernism, on Madison Avenue, who specializes in Modernist furniture of the 1930s and its earlier Austrian predecessors. He is reportedly planning a rug exhibition in which the splendid cartoons should feature prominently. Prices are unlikely to be the same after that.

It may not be long before the European and American museums that overlooked Da Silva Bruhns' cartoons in Monte Carlo and Paris when most could be had for under \$500, or the Paris dealers who stood by, watching him, will be feeling the first pangs of regret at the missed opportunity.

# Naples Stages 'Salammbô,' a Rare Mussorgsky

By William Weaver  
International Herald Tribune

NAPLES — Like all Italian opera houses, the historic Teatro San Carlo of Naples in recent years has suffered a decline. The usual disasters — strikes, lack of funds, incompetence — were exacerbated by a natural catastrophe: a fire that destroyed much of the theater's warehouse.

But this season under a new artistic director, Roberto de Simone, an alert scholar and a lively, experi-

enced man of the theater, and a new general manager, Francesco Canessa, a leading Neapolitan music critic, the old house is regaining some of its dynamism.

The applause that greeted its latest production was, of course, partly meant to acknowledge the undeniable merits of the performance, but partly, too, it was intended to thank the new regime. The production was the first staging ever of Mussorgsky's unfinished opera "Salammbô," composed in the early 1860s when the composer was in his 20s.

After beginning work on the opera with great enthusiasm, Mussorgsky abandoned the piece. Eventually the six numbers he had written were published posthumously in the Soviet edition of his complete works, with a note by the expert Pavel Lamm. This edition came to the attention of the conductor Zoltan Pesko, a Hungarian long resident in Italy, who prepared a performing version of the music, which was then heard in a concert in Milan in 1980. The concert was recorded and Italy's Fonit Cetra company later issued a two-LP album.

Much of the work is Pesko's, as the conductor freely declares. The six numbers, some of which are lasting roughly 30 minutes, are complete, but for the most part in piano score. Only about 15 percent of the music was orchestrated.

Pesko naturally maintained the text, the tunes and the harmony, but created his own orchestration for the rest, and on the basis of this week's hearing, one can say it is admirably discreet. Pesko does not attempt to make the callow but gifted young composer of "Salammbô" sound like the more mature and experienced composer of "Boris Godunov." Still, the two composers were the same person, and it is fascinating to hear many characteristic turns of phrase, fragments of tunes that turn up in Mussorgsky's masterpiece.

But staging the music presented considerable problems. It was like taking a selection of "highlights" from an opera and saying to the director: "Put this on." Crucial scenes — the death of Salammbô, for one — are missing. The characters (there are really only two, Salammbô and Matho) do not develop.

The Soviet avant-garde director Yuri Lyubimov has had little operatic experience, most of it in Italy. His eccentric staging of "Boris" at La Scala was not, in the eyes of many, very encouraging. But he met the challenge of this fragment of "Salammbô" brilliantly. His aim, as he said in a press conference before the premiere, was simply to present an unfinished work, to make no attempt to impose on it a coherence from outside.

For a prologue, he brought on stage a young man, in mid-19th-century costume, light beige suit and straw hat. Another young man, at the other side of the stage, stood at a piano and played a brief passage occasionally.

These were Flambert and Mussorgsky, and as they moved, two voices from a loudspeaker quoted the letters of the novelist and the composer, in French and in Russian, each musing about the genesis

of his work. It was a daring stroke on the director's part, and even if few in the audience understood the words, the scene conveyed the tone of the production, its unassertive simplicity.

Originally, the chief roles in the work were to have been sung by Russian singers, but at the last minute the Soviet Ministry of Culture denied them visas. Amabelle Bernard came from the Deutsche Oper Berlin, without a word of Russian, without having seen the score, and in two weeks was ready. Under the circumstances, one can only be grateful that she sang the role. The voice is not that splendid. Slavic mezzo the music demands, but she sang with great musicality and moved with dignity and grace.

Boris Balkov was an impressive Matho, and William Stone sang the opening Balearic islander's song with dash and vocal power. An exciting evening.

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# Columbian Commissioned to Do Mural for UN



Alejandro Obregon, with "Peace" figure.

By Juan de Onis  
International Herald Tribune

CARTAGENA, Colombia — Alejandro Obregon, who has created a magical, violent world of motion and color inspired by the Caribbean nations, has been commissioned to do a major mural at the UN Secretariat Building in New York.

In Bermuda shorts, leather sandals and a paint-stained T-shirt, the powerfully built painter, with hands like a bricklayer, is working on the hundreds of drawings and measurements necessary to project his mural onto a wall 10 meters long and 5 meters high.

"I like to think of this as a huge, a liberation of the long wall. The primary objective of a mural is to be decorative, so I don't want to get into any heavy message," said Obregon.

But he does plan to use as a dominant motif a female figure that in one of his recent paintings represents "the Victory of Peace."

Although he studied in France and became a devotee of Picasso, his work is very much influenced by his surroundings — the living experience of the sea and mountains, and the natural symbols of strength and speed that are the bulls and eagles and barracudas of Colombia.

Obregon, 54, is a friend and drinking companion of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the Nobel Prize-winning Colombian novelist, who is also a product of the country's Caribbean coast. In an introduction to a catalog for a recent exposition of Obregon's work at the Organization of American States in Washington, Garcia Marquez wrote:

"He paints, really, as if he were fishing up drowned men out of the darkness. His paintings, with horizons of thunder, come out dripping with fighting minotaur, patriotic condors, lusty goats, bellowing barracudas. In the midst of this stormy fauna of his personal mythology walks a woman crowned with Doreen's garlands, the impossible creature for whom this reinforced-concrete romantic wants to die."

More and more, this creature of beauty and youth is identified with peace in Obregon's symbolism. But this does not reduce the vitality, the achievement of a sense of motion, like a Caribbean hurricane turned into colors, that is the most distinctive feature of Obregon's paintings and murals, which are done in acrylic.

Obregon said he hoped to be able to start on the UN mural during the world body's summer recess. He works at a furious pace, and he expects to have the mural finished in less than a month.

## East German Choral Visit

The Associated Press

LONDON — Fifty chorists from the cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester will sing in East Germany, the Church of England said. The 10-day tour, part of celebrations for the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, starts April 9 in Dresden, followed by services and concerts in eight other cities.

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# Borg Reflects on the Highs and Lows of an Eventful Career

**New York Times Service**  
**MONTE CARLO** — Björn Borg, whose loss to Henri Leconte here Thursday marked his official retirement from tennis at the age of 26, used the occasion of his final postmatch press conference to cite the high and low points of his illustrious career.

The three finest moments, Borg said, were the first and last of his five consecutive Wimbledon victories in 1976 and 1978, and Sweden's Davis Cup success in 1975.

The worst disappointment, he said, was his loss to Jimmy Connors on the clay courts at Forest Hills in 1976. "That was really my year to win it," Borg said of the U.S. Open, the one major tournament to elude him despite playing in four finals. Borg was hurt for the 1977 tournament, and in 1978 the U.S. Open moved to Flushing Meadows with new hard courts, on which Borg would always be uncomfortable.

"In the beginning, Wimbledon was number one," said Leconte, Borg's coach, listing his goals. "Then he wins it and it becomes number two. When you get a few of them, you want a few of the others. You want them all."

For the last 13 years the nurturing of Borg's talent and the organization of his life have been Bergin's calling, and the 57-year-old coach seems saddened and unsettled by the current turn of events. His dark mood fits only when he is reminded that athletes of Borg's caliber often reverse retirement decisions.

"Most of them have always come back," Bergin said. "You can always hope that later on he'll play a few exhibitions, maybe get a wild card and play some little tournaments and like playing. You can always hope."

The exhibitions, which occupied Borg during his 1982 leave of absence, will start immediately with a trip next week to South Korea and on to Japan. Borg said emphatically, however, that he will not pursue or accept wild card invitations to tournaments.

Beyond that, Borg's plans are vague and reflect the fact that his life has been exceptionally narrow, even for a professional athlete.

"It looks to me like he will be taking care of his goals," Bergin said. "Later on maybe there'll be something else. I am sure it will be in tennis business, tennis life."

Borg said: "I'll probably be involved in a lot of promotional things and work with different companies. Maybe I'll do commentary for the major tournaments. I have other things in mind that I'll keep to myself. I can try other things now, find things I enjoy doing, events outside tennis. I'm ambitious in tennis. Now I'd like to be ambitious outside of tennis, too."

He said, who is 10 years older than Borg and still playing his zesty, rambunctious game, predicts problems for Borg in retirement. "I'm sure it will be tough for him to say goodbye to tennis," Nastase said. "I'm sure he'll have trouble in the future, miss the tournaments, miss the crowds, miss the ambience of tennis. There's not enough to replace what you've done before."

"The fans, the people have always been the nice thing," Borg said, "but I don't think I'll miss tournament tennis."

Borg's relief at his decision has been unmistakable this week. He seems to look people in the eye rather than duck his head as pressings are used. During the post-match press conferences, rather than mumbling in discomfort, he answered questions

in a full voice and occasionally filled the room with surprising laughter.

"Now that I know I'm not going to play any more tennis, I feel more relaxed," Borg said. "Mentally, it had come to the point where I couldn't go out and put effort in the game anymore. It's difficult when you don't have the motivation to go out and practice three or four hours every day."

"He started at eight years old," Bergin said, "and was always very serious about his tennis. Very concentrated from the very beginning. Finally, he felt he could not go on because he was mentally tired most of the time. I can understand even if I feel a little bit sorry."

"Winning all the time, he got more tired than anybody," Nastase said. "You get tired. Everybody gets tired, and he played more than anybody. Winning six titles at Roland Garros on clay, just that, how many miles do you think he ran?"

Then Nastase gave a fitting summary of Borg's career.

"He was perfect," Nastase said. "He was more perfect than all of us. He never made fun of a player. He never said, 'I beat you so bad,' he never got excited winning or losing. He was perfect. He was Borg."

**Purcell Reaches Semifinals**  
**MONTE CARLO** — Met Purcell beat Shlomo Glickstein on Friday, 6-0, 7-6, to reach the semifinals of the Monte Carlo Open, United Press International reported. The three other scheduled quarterfinals were postponed until Saturday because of heavy rain.

Purcell outplayed Glickstein from the baseline and threatened to overwhelm him as he sped through the first 10 games.

The Israeli then settled down and produced the form that allowed him to upset Ivan Lendl in the first round, making several scores to the net and winning a string of points as Purcell failed to pass him. But his revival faltered after he won five successive games to lead, 5-4, in the second set. Purcell responded to nose in front, 6-4, and then won the tiebreaker.

The tournament referee, Bernard Noat, said that the players agreed to reschedule the remaining quarterfinals for Saturday morning and hold the semifinals in the afternoon. But the weather forecast was for more rain, and it was expected that the final might be pushed back to Monday.

Two years ago the final between Jimmy Connors and Guillermo Vilas was washed out with the match tied at 5-5 in the first set. It was never completed.



Björn Borg leaving the tennis court in Monte Carlo. The scoreboard shows that Henri Leconte won, 4-6, 7-5, 7-6.

## NBA Contract Impresses U.S. Labor Experts

**By William Scrini**  
**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — The agreement between the National Basketball Association and the players' union, guaranteeing the players 53 percent of the gross revenues and establishing minimum and maximum wage and benefit levels, is a creative use of collective bargaining to attempt to assist a financially troubled industry, labor experts say.

Larry O'Brien, the NBA commissioner, called the settlement a "landmark labor agreement in professional sports." Larry Fleisher, general counsel of the National Basketball Players Association, called it "unique in the history of sports." He said it would require teams to be competitive in bidding for players, and give players an incentive to make the game as attractive as possible and thus more profitable.

Labor experts said the agreement seemed innovative and demonstrated that collective bargaining could be a valuable instrument that, when used creatively, could help to solve major problems confronting industries.

Lloyd Uman, a professor of economics at the University of California, said the agreement constituted a form of profit sharing. He was impressed, he said, by the explicit manner in which the guarantees were drawn.

Some companies have profit-sharing plans, but a plan like this one, with large, stipulated guarantees, is most unusual, labor experts said.

Arthur Shostak, a labor authority at Drexel University, said the union appeared to have acted in a most responsible manner. The bargaining, like negotiations that have occurred in such industries as auto, trucking, and steel, he said, allowed employees and employers to rationalize business operations.

In basketball as in some other industries, Shostak added, certain aspects of business operations — salaries, as in basketball — or wages and work rules, as in auto, trucking, or steel — sometimes went largely unchallenged because times were good and profits high.

But with a recession occurring and companies facing financial problems, he said, increased emphasis is placed on rationalizing operations. Unions have assisted companies in that with greater willingness than in normal circumstances, he said. Unions sometimes see that long-standing practices must change, and the troubled times can be an opportunity to achieve that, he emphasized.

In addition, Shostak said, extensive uncertainty has entered the "observer leisure activities." He said that professional sports had not always received the profits expected from conventional television, and cable and pay television.

Under the agreement, gross revenues are to include gate receipts and, importantly, radio and television revenues. The cap on wages and benefits will be determined by dividing the amount produced by the 53 percent figure by 23, the number of NBA teams.

The sharing of revenues from television was issues in both the pro football strike in 1982 and the pro baseball strike in 1981. Fleisher said the sharing of television revenues was "something that every sports association has wanted for a long while."

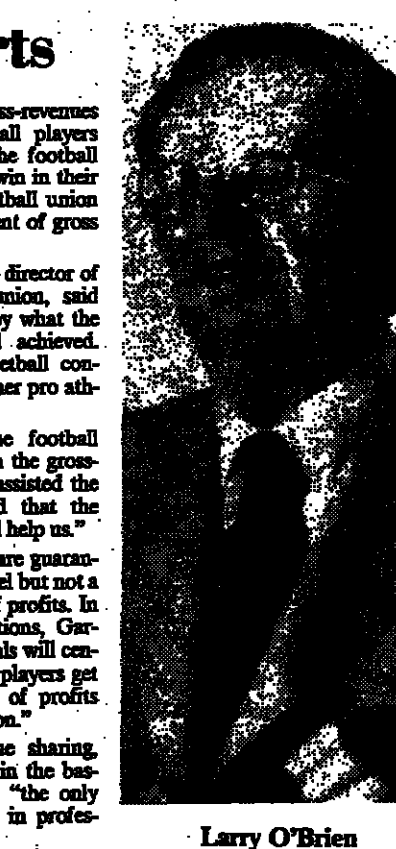
In winning the gross-revenues guarantee, the basketball players essentially won what the football players were unable to win in their strike last fall. The football union had demanded 55 percent of gross revenues.

Ed Garvey, executive director of the football players' union, said that he was delighted by what the basketball players had achieved. He said that the basketball contract would assist all other pro athletes.

He insisted that the football players, in putting forth the gross-revenue proposal, had assisted the basketball players, and that the basketball contract "will help us."

The football players are guaranteed a compensation level but not a stipulated percentage of profits. In future football negotiations, Garvey said, the union's goals will center on "not what a few players get but on the percentage of profits that goes to compensation."

He said that revenue sharing, such as that contained in the basketball agreement, was "the only thing that makes sense in professional sports."



Larry O'Brien

## Dream for Son; Bonus for Dad — One Coach's Trail to the Final Four

**By George Vecsey**  
**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — The sophomore would not about the ball. His jump shot was his team's best weapon against the zone defense, but he would pass the ball back to his older teammates rather than shoot.

Finally, the coach ordered a timeout and he snapped at the sophomore, "Jimmy, if you won't shoot, I might as well take you out."

Sometimes, the sophomore would be sitting on the bench when a mistake was made. No matter. In the next timeout, the coach would look straight at him while he was barking at the team.

This was at Seaford High School in the Long Island suburbs in the early 1960s. After the games, they would leave the gym together, the coach and the sophomore, Rocco and Jim Valvano.

The closeness continues to this day. Jim Valvano of North Carolina State is one of those few coaches who ever reach the Final Four of the national college basketball tournament. His surprising team was preparing to play Georgetown on Saturday in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and his father and mother, Rocco and Angela, were planning to attend.

"No way we miss that one," the father says.

Saturday's game was another bonus, along with the three sons and the five grandchildren and the good health. For the senior Valvano, who has been known as Rocky since he played for Newtown High in New York. He played semipro basketball for many years until he suffered temporary injuries in a car accident that killed a player and the driver, the owner of the Ulica team of the Canadian-American League.

After that, he was a coach, an athletic director and a well-known college referee on the side. After picking his Seaford High squad every fall, Rocky would say: "For the next few months, you're all my sons. You're welcome at my house."

At the end of the season, Angela Valvano would cook a spaghetti dinner for the players and the cheerleaders.

"We could have taken them out to a restaurant, but that seemed so... so... formal," Rocky says.

Since the players were all his sons, Rocky Valvano never showed any self-consciousness about coaching his three natural sons, Nick, Jim and Bob. He urged Jim to shoot more often, and after a while, he says, "the other players would look for Jimmy in a tight game."

Not all the high school coaches were comfortable with letting reporters interview their players, but Rocky Valvano didn't even flinch when a young reporter asked questions about the coach who lectured his son during timeouts.

Jim Valvano was a bubbly 15-year-old. The young man later helped Rutgers attain its best seasons up to that time by passing the ball to Bobby Lloyd and taking on the toughest defensive task. After college, there was only one thing Jim Valvano wanted to be.

"Jimmy used to say to me, 'I want to be a head coach, I want my team to play the 9 o'clock game at the Garden, I want to get into the Final Four,'" his father recalls. "He's done all that so far."

The father followed his son's

coaching career from Johns Hopkins to Bucknell to Iowa to North Carolina State. At first, he made lists for his son — 111 notes after a game at Bucknell.

Jim Valvano's charm brought Iowa to the 9 o'clock game in the Garden and a victory over Louisville, but he later brought pain to Iowa by leaving for North Carolina State. Some of his Iowa players had expected him to be there for their entire college careers, and were hurt when he left, particularly Jeff Ruland, the center who later left school after it was revealed that he had violated amateur rules by consulting an agent.

"We don't like to talk about that," Rocky Valvano says. "My son was close to the kids at Iowa, and he was hurt by some things that were said. He's close to the kids at North Carolina State, too. That's what it's all about."

"I tell him that all the time: 'Jimmy, they may be in college but they're still kids. They look up to you for guidance.' You go to Jimmy's house on a weekend and you'll see the players shooting pool and listening to records. They're his friends. You see pictures of him and Derek Whittenburg hugging after a game. That's a true feeling. That's the way we were brought up. We're an emotional family."

"You know, a lot of people think Jimmy's something of a clown because he likes to joke a lot, but he's a serious kid. He works hard at what he does."

The old coach doesn't mind admitting he monitors the new coach. Through the marvels of the telephone and cable television, Rocky can call his son in Raleigh and ask, "What was your strategy on that last-second shot against Notre Dame?"

Jim's ego can handle having a father who knows the business. He even gets a laugh from it, when he tells boosters in Raleigh to blame his father for his team's mistakes.

The old coach says he doesn't keep lists of comments for his son anymore because "my son has a heckuva basketball brain; he's paid his dues." The dues included public criticism in a crowded gym, and the indications were that the sophomore was paying attention.



DON'T MOVE — Ed Johnston of the New York Rangers leans on Bobby Clarke of the Flyers after the two collided in their National Hockey League game in Philadelphia. The Rangers triumphed, 4-2.

## U.S. and Canadian Soccer Officials Angered by Decision on World Cup

**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — Soccer officials in the United States and Canada have reacted strongly against the unexpected decision Thursday by the five-member World Cup Organizing Committee to consider only the Mexican application to hold the 1986 World Cup finals.

U.S. officials began a campaign to force a reversal of the decision, and Canadians immediately protested the move.

In a message to the international group, Werner Fricker, the chairman of the U.S. organizing committee, denounced the decision as "unacceptable."

"Your decision not to visit the United States as prescribed by your own rules and regulations is unacceptable," read part of the letter sent by Fricker.

"We do not consider this the last word," declared Richard Rottkay, the spokesman for the U.S. Soccer Federation. He said that the U.S. case would be pressed right up to May 20, when the 22-member executive committee of the Zurich-based Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), soccer's international governing body, is scheduled to make the final selection following three days of meetings in Stockholm. The organizing committee is made up of five members of the executive committee.

Since Brazil withdrew earlier this year, the United States, Canada and Mexico had been the only nations under consideration to replace Colombia as the host for 1986, Colombia, originally chosen in 1972 to be the 1986 host, withdrew last year, citing economic difficulties. Since the World Cup began in 1930, the custom has been

to alternate between sites in Europe and the Americas.

The organizing committee had not been expected to make a recommendation until after paying inspection visits to the three countries later this month. It said, however, that the United States and Canadian applications had "deviated too much" from guidelines laid down by FIFA.

It said that Canada had proposed using only nine stadiums, instead of the 12 specified by FIFA. But it cited no such deviation in the U.S. application. The only reason it offered for rejecting the United States — and one it also applied to Canada — was that "travel distances on the North American continent" represented an "obstacle."

Soccer officials in the United States, where professional teams fly from coast to coast every day, ridiculed that rationale.

Eric King, the executive director of the Canadian organization, called it "irresponsible."

"The World Cup" would have given a shot in the arm to soccer in Canada," King said. "If travel time or stadium issues were, they could have told us that years ago and saved us all a lot of time and money."

**NASL President Outraged**  
 The president of the North American Soccer League, Howard J. Samuels, expressed his anger at the FIFA panel's decision, United Press International reported.

"I am truly outraged at FIFA's announcement that they would only consider Mexico's application for the World Cup without even making inspection tours of the U.S. and Canada," Samuels said.

"When you look at the growth of

the game in America today, with its rank as the fastest-growing team sport, it is shocking that FIFA would not personally examine our country and give us the opportunity to show them what we can do."

"I think their action is an insult not only to the soccer federations of both countries, but also to President Reagan and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada, both of whom have expressed their undivided enthusiasm for hosting the World Cup."

Samuels said that Mexico had exerted enormous political pressure to secure the World Cup. "The question, though," he said, "if for any reason Mexico is eventually rejected, will the World Cup be moved to Europe? This would be an insult to North and South America."

The game in America today, with its rank as the fastest-growing team sport, it is shocking that FIFA would not personally examine our country and give us the opportunity to show them what we can do.

## SPORTS BRIEFS

### Lye and Watson Share Golf Lead

**GREENSBORO, North Carolina (UPI)** — Mark Lye and Denis Watson carded 3-under-par 69s in inclement weather Thursday to share the lead after one round of the Greater Greensboro Open golf tournament.

They held a one-stroke advantage over Mike McCullough, Jim Nedford, Bob Eastwood and Roger Maltby, who had 7½ over the 6,953-yard Fortis Oaks Country Club course.

At 71 were Puzzy Zoeller, Chip Beck, Nick Faldo, Thomas Grey, Craig Stadler, Dave Elkeltberger, Greg Poway and Nick Price. No one else broke par.

### FISA Plays Up Swiss Grand Prix

**PARIS (AP)** — The International Auto Sport Federation announced Friday that the Swiss Grand Prix, scheduled for July 10 in Dijon, France, has been granted the honored title of "Grand Prix of Europe."

Racing sources, who declined to be identified, said the action would help ensure television coverage, without which the staging of the race was in doubt. The title traditionally was given to one Grand Prix each year, but the usage had lapsed in recent years.

Meanwhile, Bernard Ecclestone, president of the Formula One Constructors Association of teams competing in the world championship, categorically denied reports that the South African Grand Prix would be canceled.

### Kelly, Irish Cycling Star, Injured

**AGEN, France (Reuters)** — Sean Kelly, the Irish bicycling star, has been injured in a crash and will be out of action for a month, team officials announced.

Kelly broke a collar bone, his left thumb and badly gashed his head Thursday in a crash during the first stage of the Midi-Pyrenees four-day race. He won the International Circuit last weekend and the Paris-Nice classic earlier in March.

### NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE		W L Pct. GB	
Atlantic Division			
Philadelphia	47	23	.673
Washington	42	28	.600
New Jersey	37	33	.529
New York	34	36	.486
Washington	34	36	.486
Central Division			
Minneapolis	47	23	.673
Atlanta	38	32	.543
Chicago	37	33	.529
Indiana	34	36	.486
Cleveland	19	51	.271
WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Midwest Division			
San Antonio	47	23	.673
Denver	39	31	.559
Kansas City	37	33	.529
Dallas	34	36	.486
Utah	24	46	.344
Houston	13	67	.163
Pacific Division			
Los Angeles	50	20	.714
Phoenix	42	28	.600
Seattle	37	33	.529
Portland	34	36	.486
Golden State	24	46	.344
San Diego	24	46	.344
NBA Standings			
Philadelphia	47	23	.673
Washington	42	28	.600
New Jersey	37	33	.529
New York	34	36	.486
Washington	34	36	.486
Minneapolis	47	23	.673
Atlanta	38	32	.543
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Phoenix	42	28	.600
Seattle	37	33	.529
Portland	34	36	.486
Golden State	24	46	.344
San Diego	24	46	.344

### NHL Standings

W L T Pts. GB	
W L T Pts. GB	
Philadelphia	47 23 .673
Washington	42 28 .600
New Jersey	37 33 .529
New York	34 36 .486
Washington	34 36 .486
Minneapolis	47 23 .673
Atlanta	38 32 .543
Chicago	37 33 .529
Indiana	34 36 .486
Cleveland	19 51 .271
San Antonio	47 23 .673
Denver	39 31 .559
Kansas City	37 33 .529
Dallas	34 36 .486
Utah	24 46 .344
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Los Angeles	50 20 .714
Phoenix	42 28 .600
Seattle	37 33 .529
Portland	34 36 .486
Golden State	24 46 .344
San Diego	24 46 .344

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